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PLANNING FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE PROGRAM: A SITUATIONAL STUDY

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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Date: May 31, 1983

DEDICATION

To the memory of my father,

CYRIL B. BARDSLEY

ABSTRACT

The intent of this study is to provide an interpretive description of the preparatory activities contributing to the implementation of a specific program of studies, i.e. the International Baccalaureate Program, and in so doing, to illuminate the concept of planning for program implementation. In an exploration of the perspectives from which program developers and program planners view both the program and the act of program planning, participants' beliefs and concerns for their situation are disclosed.

Conceptualization of the practice of program implementation as installation, as interpretation, and as reflective action provides a framework for an analysis of the interests in planning held by participating teachers. The prevalence of technical concerns over interpretive or reflective ones is indicative of an orientation to planning for implementation conceived as installation.

The construction of meanings by developers and planners occurs within a situational context of social control; the ability to mobilize resources in order to achieve specified outcomes is differentially distributed. This study attempts to situate the interpretation of participants' interests in planning by portraying the interactions among participants as a discourse characterized by its language and the strategies of consensus-building, negotiation, pseudoparticipation, communication control, non-issues, and resistances.

It is suggested that these features of the discourse are indicative of ideological practice in which the activities and interests of the practitioners are aligned with the concealed interests of dominant social groups upholding the educational institution.

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Following the decision of a school system to adopt a program of studies, there ensue preparations for the implementation of the program in the classrooms. The opportunity to follow the progress of such preparations rarely occurs, and is seldom documented. In this study, I set out to explore the meanings given to the situation by people who, in their capacities as administrators and teachers in the Edmonton Public School district, are charged with the task of planning to introduce the International Baccalaureate Program. My intent is to contribute to "accumulated lore, to experience of actions and their consequences, to action and reaction at the level of the concrete case" (Schwab, 1970 : 29), thereby illuminating the notion of planning for implementation.

Focus of the Study

The initial focus of this study falls on an exploration of the perspectives from which the program developers and program planners view both the program and the process of program development. Such orientations are assumed to both influence and be influenced by the social interactions of the participants.

I endeavor to identify the dominant concerns of the developers and planners as they are revealed in the preparatory activities contributing to implementation, and reflect on the ways in which such concerns are related to the participants' views of the program and the process of program development. It is recognized that developers and program planners are members of a much broader cultural and economic context than that of the public school district in Edmonton, Alberta, and the manner in which individuals act within this broader context is considered.

I then attempt to draw together these observations and reflections on perspectives, interests and contextual constraints in an exploration of the social interactions of the planning activities. The dynamic interplay of these and other factors contribute to what I call the discourse of planning, the study of which may contribute to our understanding of what it means to plan for implementation.

Background to the Study

THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE PROGRAM

This program of studies was developed in an attempt to deal with varying University entrance requirements as specified in terms of specific national school leaving examinations. Private schools catering to an international clientele found it difficult to offer a cohesive program while preparing their students for the Baccalauréat français, the Swiss maturité, the British GCE "A" level examinations, and the United States College Entrance Board examinations. In addition, it was recognized that mobile students would benefit from the existence of a common program of studies.

In 1963, a grant of $75,000 from Twentieth Century Fund to the International Schools Association initiated the exploration of the possibilities for an international university entrance examination. The International Schools Examination Syndicate was set up in Geneva to coordinate the work by bringing together international committees to work out the structure and syllabuses of discipline-based courses in History, Geography, Modern Languages, Biology, Physics and Mathematics. A further grant from the Ford Foundation resulted in the establishment of the International Baccalaureate Office (IBO) in Geneva in 1967, with Mr. A.D.C. Peterson as Director. The IBO, as an independent non-profit institution, assumed responsibility for the development and administration of a series of examinations to be known as the International Baccalaureate.

Delegates from eleven countries, including the directors of three large national boards (Baccalauréat français; the Oxford and Cambridge Board of the General Certificate of Education; and the Advanced Placement Program of the College Entrance Examination Board) and observers from UNESCO and the Council of Europe, attended a policy conference in Sèvres, France, in 1967. During the next two years, trial examinations were held, and negotiations for provisional recognition of the International Baccalaureate by universities and national education authorities proceeded satisfactorily.

The first full International Baccalaureate (IB) examinations were held in May, 1970. A number of universities around the world agreed to grant provisional recognition of the IB for an introductory period, 1970-76. Since that time, over 10,000 students have taken the IB examinations. In 1980, there were over 120 participant and affiliated schools on five continents, of which about forty were state-supported

schools. Today, a large number of universities recognize the IB Diploma as a document of high academic standing, and many grant either one year of credit to the successful candidate, or grant credit for higher level passes.

In order to accommodate diverse student interests within the framework of a liberal education, the International Baccalaureate Program (IBP) offers a wide range of study areas for examination. The two year program requires that each student becomes proficient in language (his native one plus another) and mathematics, and that he become familiar with selected topics in the study of human behavior, as well as others which exemplify the process of scientific inquiry. The student is also asked to engage in some creative, aesthetic, or social service, and to participate in a common course of study which reflects upon the "truth, criteria, values and interrelations of the subjects being studied" (IBNA, 1981 : 1). Students must also complete a "substantial piece of independent work", and submit an extended essay on it.

Students attending IBO-affiliated schools may opt to write examinations in individual study areas. However, in order to qualify for the IB Diploma, candidates must offer six subjects for examination: three of these, at the candidate's option, must be offered at higher level, and the other three at subsidiary level. The general scheme for selection of courses by a Diploma candidate in the IBP is displayed in Table 1. Additional requirements are the Theory of Knowledge course, submission of an Extended Essay, and satisfaction of the creative, aesthetic, or social service (CASS) requirements.

TABLE 1

Course Distribution in the International Baccalaureate Program

1. Language A - first language of candidate	2. Language B - second language
3. Study of Man - one of the following: History, Geography, Economics, Philosophy, Psychology, Social Anthropology	4. Experimental Sciences - one of the following: Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Scientific Studies
5. Mathematics	6. One of the Following: Art and Design, Music, Second Science, Second Language, Classical Language, Further Mathematics

THE ALBERTA HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA AND MATRICULATION

Generally, the completion of an Alberta High School Diploma requires three years of study. Students must accumulate one hundred credits for courses completed satisfactorily (>40% standing). These include mandatory courses in English (three full courses), Social Studies (two full courses), Physical Education (one full course), Mathematics (one full course), Science (one full course), and two other Grade XII courses.

Matriculation qualifies a student for entrance to a Canadian university, the requirements additional to those for the Diploma being two more Grade XII courses (a minimum total of five, including English). In order to matriculate, students should have no mark less than 50%, and an overall average of 60%. The University of Alberta suggests that, in order to obtain maximum freedom of choice among the various faculties, high school students take a minimum of six matriculation subjects in Grade XII, as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Course Distribution in Alberta High School Matriculation Program

(Grade XII Year)

1. Language English 30	2. Language A second language
3. Humanities or Fine Arts - one of the following: Social Studies, Art, Music, Language, Drama	4. Science Chemistry
5. Mathematics	6. Science - one of the following: Physics, Biology

EDMONTON HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR THE 'ACADEMIC' STUDENT

When Grade 9 students select a program of studies for the first of three years in senior high school, they are counselled into one of two general patterns (academic or vocational), depending on their achievement level in junior high school. It is anticipated that students assigned to the academic pattern will matriculate in Grade XII, and be eligible to enter university. These students exhibit a vast array of interests and abilities, and the traditional debate about whether to stream students in homogeneous groups has been resolved in some Edmonton high schools by discrete student selection of available courses, as recommended by the school counsellors. For example, students who show special aptitude in mathematics may select a higher level course in Grade XII. Students who have benefited from French instruction in junior high school may choose to follow a higher level program of French instruction throughout senior high school. And for students who show particular interest in the sciences, some high schools have developed enriched courses, known locally as "S" or "B" courses. The nature of the enrichment appears to have rested on the teachers' discretion, as a supplement to the provincially prescribed curriculum.

Over the years, the Edmonton public school district has sought to satisfy the needs of children who did not appear to be challenged by the regular classroom activities. At the elementary level, students identified as 'gifted' by the classroom teacher were offered the opportunity to attend special enrichment classes for one day or one half day per week. Several junior high schools introduced an enriched 'academic' program in which time spent studying core subjects was extended, and the time devoted to elective subjects (fine arts and vocational areas) was reduced. These programs were received

enthusiastically by the clientele of the schools, to the extent that there were waiting lists of students applying to register for these classes.

For students wishing to sustain an enriched academic program, a small senior high school was opened in 1976, with the intention of presenting an enriched matriculation program. As in the case of the "S" and "B" science courses in other senior high schools, enrichment was perceived by the instructional staff as consisting of a more extensive treatment of the provincially prescribed course contents.

Methodological Approach to the Study

THE SITUATIONAL STUDY

The situational study relates to its audience an account of the unique interactions of a particular sequence of events in order that they may be better understood. In experimental studies, the uniqueness of individual cases is either ignored or considered in terms of 'error variance', but in the situational study, the features of the particular situation contribute towards a better understanding of what is happening.

Stake (1978 : c30) describes the case study as having character, totality and boundaries. "It is not just an instance represented by a score; it is not only an entity which could be represented by an endless array of scores. It is a complex dynamic system, something to be

thought of as an existing entity, even when simple descriptions are being made of it." However, as suggested by Yin (1981 : 59), the boundaries which separate the phenomenon being studied from the context of that phenomenon are indistinct. And so this study is concerned not just with the interactions of a recognized group of teachers and administrators working within three specific schools in the Edmonton public school district, but also with the contextual features of their situation. This is to recognize that although the study focuses on the belief systems, shared values, and social exchange (House, 1979 : 10; Shaw, 1978 : 4) of a particular group of people, these cannot be divorced from what has gone before them, or from that which surrounds them.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

This exploratory study could not be contemplated in an approach served by a detailed, uninvolved recording of events. And yet in focusing on the participants' constituted meaning of events, and the representation of these meanings in this account, the reader may question the reported interpretations in terms of "How do I know that what is offered in this account is as it was?"

In addressing this problem, Psathas (1973 : 12) suggests three tests of the validity of the investigations. First, do the participants in the activities recognize the descriptions or interpretations as being true? Second, would a non-participant with experience of similar activities be able to understand what was happening if his "only" knowledge prior to witnessing the activities was reading the account constructed by the researcher? That is, would he recognize the phenomenon from the report he had read? Psathas likens the third test

to the reading of the rules of a new game: does the report provide a set of instructions for participating in the same kind of activities? Could the reader of the report imagine himself "in the shoes of" the participants? These tests suggest that the investigator must be prepared to present his report to both participants and non-participants in order to validate his representations of meanings.

Dawson (1979) has examined the requirements for validity of qualitative observations, and suggests that the utility of the description to the reader is of considerable significance. If a description cannot be used for the purpose for which it was compiled, it cannot be considered valid. Conceptualizing validity as the "adequacy" of the description (interview data, field notes, or final report) as a representation of a social situation, Dawson acknowledges that it is not possible to provide a complete or perfect description of a complex and dynamic phenomenon. But in viewing the situation from a number of varying perspectives, a more complete understanding may be developed. Thus the investigator, in contributing to the multiple perspectives of the particular situation, potentially enhances the reader's understanding of his own experience (Schatzmann, 1973 : 135).

Stake (1980 : 9) also calls for confirmation of the interpretations by others. He suggests that for a stated value perspective, the more relevant data should be included in the report so that readers may respond to the data (but not necessarily the interpretations) as if they had made the observations themselves.

Practical guidelines for strengthening the validity of a portrayal by the researcher were provided by Homans (in Bruyn, 1966). The researcher must consider the length of time spent with a group; the

longer period enhances the prospects of a valid interpretation. Similarly, if the investigator works in a location geographically close to his informants, the interpretation is likely to be acceptable. These two features of time and place are also noted by Wolcott (1975 : 122), who stresses that the investigator is "committed to being present on the scene over an extended period of time." Bruyn elaborates further in terms of social circumstances, language, intimacy, and consensus, all of which contribute to the acceptance of the observations.

A study of perspectives and interpretations is an exploration which will not necessarily become complete. It offers a contribution toward the understanding of the interactions of a group of people. But since the meanings held by participants are constantly undergoing adjustments, the study can only hope to illuminate a fragment of the evolving patterns. Thus replicability and consistency of findings are not pertinent to this study, which seeks not to arrive at a conclusion about the nature of planning for program implementation, but rather to prepare for further questioning of the topic.

STANCE OF THE RESEARCHER

In reflecting on the nature of the relationships between the researcher and his informants in a study such as the one proposed, MacDonald (1980) writes that "the outcome of such a study is an expression not just of the case, but of the case and the researcher taken together." In general, in the past, this relationship has been considered non-problematic by many participating informants, if not by researchers themselves. Among the features contributing to the researcher's stance, three merit considerable concern:

(a) the intents and outcomes of the study

(b) the nature of the relationship with the participants

(c) the role of theory in the study.

(a) When a researcher becomes involved with either an individual or group of people for the purpose of relating an account of events and understandings, it would seem to be of critical significance that he consider the questions "For whom is the study undertaken?" and "Who will be identified as the primary and secondary audience for the report of the study?" After all, the function of the investigation is not just to generate data; the information provided within the data may be used in different ways by different groups of people. The stance I have taken in this study is to view the exploration primarily as a contribution to the participants' understanding of a specific sequence of interactions (planning for implementation of the IBP), and one which may enable the individuals to realize their full potentialities within their situations. Secondarily, I view the study as an endeavor which reconceptualizes the processes involved in preparing for implementation. By uncovering the meanings of the specific program of studies for participants, I hope to offer an opportunity for reflecting on these interpretations, and contemplating possible alternatives.

(b) This study focuses on the interpretative procedures by which teachers and administrators organize their program planning activities. In order for me to begin to understand their framework for acting in the world, I must endeavor to become a part of it, to the extent that I can share the meanings

implicit in the everyday situation. For this reason, it made sense to select the work of three Biology teachers for close observation of the minutiae of planning, since my own experience as a high school Biology teacher would assist in the adoption of an "insider's" or emic stance (Wilson, 1976).

The extent of the researcher's participation in such projects varies widely, as does the quality of the relationship with informants. The investigator may wish to remain as an unobtrusive observer, minimizing interruptions in the flow of events so that his observations represent an account of events as they "really are." This option of the "passive presence" (Schatzmann and Strauss, 1973 : 59) is unlikely to be maintained for very long periods of time, since the informants in the case attempt to involve a stranger, preferring to "be observed by a partly known person, not by a stranger." Such detached observations provide an "outsider's" view of events, the meanings of which are not questioned. The observations and note-taking in an elementary classroom by Jackson (1968) provide an example of this acceptance of the daily experience being as it is observed.

The advantage of becoming a full participant in the situation is that the researcher may gain insights into how it feels to be doing the work which would not be accessible to an outsider (cf. Cusick, 1973; Shipman et al., 1974; Wolcott, 1975). Participation in the daily interactions of individuals comprising a working group facilitates the researcher's comprehension of the vocabulary and non-verbal expressions used by group members, enabling him to reconstruct with them

their meanings for events. However, the task of maintaining an "anthropological strangeness" to the situation becomes a problem when close links are formed over a period of time. In attempting to bring to light the features of social interactions, the researcher must sustain a questioning sensitivity to recurrent events. In this study, the stance of researcher involves a tension between that of the committed insider and that of the critical questioner. While attempting to understand the participants' worlds of planning, I constantly query the taken-for-granted of those worlds.

During the progress of this study, I attended administrative meetings and public general meetings as an observer. The observed proceedings were frequently discussed in subsequent conversations with individual participating planners. Throughout the extended contact with the Biology committee, during the academic year 1980-81, my role was one of observer-as-participant, perhaps better described as "involved observer" (Woods, 1979 : 261). I had no role to play with respect to the Edmonton Public School district; my involvement was by virtue of a common background in high school biology instruction in two Edmonton senior high schools, and in the social relationships which developed with the planning participants. My intervention in committee discussions was strictly limited, and I tended to await invitation in the form of questions directed to me. Such queries, without exception, dealt with my experience as a classroom Biology teacher. Occasionally I sought clarification of the meanings constructed during committee discussions, but generally I waited for informal conversations to probe the participants' perceptions.

A key element in establishing a working relationship between the co-interpreters in a study such as this is one of trust. Schools are particularly vulnerable when viewed as objects of inquiry, as has been seen in the study by Nash (1973), whose hostile commentary on the teaching staff was not seen by them until they read his book (MacDonald, 1980). In another study, the attention given to teacher-pupil interactions and teachers' consciousnesses and their social construction of meaning was deliberately underplayed by the investigators, who felt that to alert the teachers' attention to these aspects would radically influence their actions in unassessable ways (Sharp and Green, 1975 : Appendix). In contrast to such a study in which informants are viewed as objects, other inquiries consider teachers as co-investigators who engage in reflection on their actions, frequently in dialogue with the researcher, and sometimes in written form, such that the study contributes to the participants' self-understanding (Scheinfeld and Messerschmidt, 1979; Elbaz, 1981).

My original introduction to some of the Edmonton participants in this planning project for program implementation occurred during an IBO workshop in Denver, Colorado, in September 1980, at which some of the IB developers and administrators spoke of their perceptions of the program of studies. At this and subsequent meetings, I attempted to lay out my interests in following the progress of the project. I also provided the Edmonton participants with a written statement of my intents and interests in the form of my thesis proposal. In retrospect, I recognize considerable dissatisfaction with the outcome of my attempts to construct a shared basis of

understanding. It was idealistic to hope for a spirit of co-investigation with the teachers. As will be seen in the remainder of the report, they had been assigned a task to complete within a specific time period, and pausing to examine themselves in action would not have facilitated the completion of the task, as they perceived it.

I am indebted to the Biology teachers for accepting me as an involved observer in their committee work, as well as for engaging in many hours of informal interview and conversation. I was not perceived as a potential threat to their autonomy, although it was known that I was in touch with administrators in Central Office. One member of another science committee apparently did consider the presence of an observer to be threatening, and stated categorically that my attendance at their working sessions would be unwelcome. Thus, despite efforts to explain the intents of the study, cooperation was not necessarily forthcoming (Everhart, 1975 : 212) and I was not an observer at those committee meetings.

(c) In that I am endeavoring to disclose the meanings of a particular program held by those planning for its implementation, I am engaged in an interpretative effort which may be described as hermeneutical.[1] My original concept of the problem presented by the project of planning to implement the IBP in Edmonton made sense from the perspectives I held at that time. Some of these, which will be elaborated in the following chapter, included the various facets of the notion of perspective, as well as a number of varying conceptions of the process of implementation. These formulations helped to

give the study a sense of direction, although they were never imposed on the exploration: it was more a case of the conceptual framework evolving as I became a part of the project. And now that I have delved more deeply into the many aspects of the project, more questions arise and other constructs are contemplated. For example, what is the nature of the relationship between participants' prevailing concerns and the process of program planning? How is this relationship maintained, and why is it sustained in this particular situation?

Thus I am engaged in a dialogue with the research project itself, one which results in constant modification of the meanings attributed to events and interactions. In this manner, the "theory" of the project becomes the sets of meanings which yield insight and understanding (Greenfield, 1980 : 7). Such "theory" is grounded in the actions of participants in their specific context (Glaser and Strauss, 1967 : 32), although an inherent difficulty in dealing with theory as meanings constructed in such concrete actions is the tendency to ignore the broader considerations of how the social order is organized and controlled (Apple, 1979 : 62).

DATA GATHERING

The relevance and meaning of events and interactions are not observable phenomena, and the researcher seeking to reveal them must learn to use a variety of techniques collectively grouped under the term ethnographic (Denzin, 1970 : 365; Rothe and Werner, 1980).

The trustees of Edmonton public schools gave formal approval for the implementation of the IBP in three senior high schools in September 1981 at its regular Board meeting on May 13, 1980. In the following September, I was given permission to study the planning for implementation of the IBP, and for a twelve-month period I maintained contact with district administrators, school administrators, and teachers associated with the project. In an attempt to situate the planning quite specifically, I requested and was given permission to follow all the events associated with the IBP implementation in one of the involved high schools. These ranged from a public general meeting to "sell" the program, a luncheon meeting for the principals of "feeder" junior high schools, to an "IB" staff meeting. A complete list of meetings attended is provided in Appendix A. At many meetings it appeared either impractical or inappropriate, or both, to record the proceedings. Under these circumstances, I made a written commentary of interactions.

During the sustained committee work of the Biology teachers, the daily proceedings were taped, and subsequently transcribed. These committee sessions extended over three isolated school weeks (a total of 15 days); one in November, 1980, the second in December, 1980, and the third in March, 1981. An air of uneasiness pervaded the initial committee sessions, and exchanges were stilted and disjointed. I wondered, also uneasily, whether my presence (and that of the tape recorder) was contributing to the "unnatural" atmosphere. After the ice had been broken in these first sessions, my sense of intruding diminished to a negligible level. I felt that two of the three teachers completely disregarded the tape recorder, and the third teacher revealed some apprehension about its presence only when the discussion centred on what might be called non-professional topics.

At the conclusion of what the Biology teachers viewed as the first phase of the implementation planning in June 1981, I taped informal individual interviews[2] with the Biology teachers. Following transcription of these tapes, I drew up summary statements of what I perceived to be their views on the task of planning for implementation, the nature of the IBP, the nature of school science, etc. I returned to the teachers with these statements, and together we reflected on their validity, making modifications wherever necessary.

I held similar, informal interviews with four other subject area teachers in the selected school, as well as with several school and district administrators. All these conversations were taped, transcribed, and a summary statement returned to all but two of the participants for validation (these two left town). A complete list of participants interviewed is provided in Appendix B.

My personal contact with members of the IBO is limited to those who attended the Denver (September, 1980) workshop for new schools. At this workshop, I participated in small group discussion with the Biology examiner for International Baccalaureate North America (IBNA) and the IB Biology teacher from the United Nations School in New York. Presentations were made by the chief coordinator of IB examinations in Southampton, England, and by the instructor of the Theory of Knowledge course at the U.N. School, New York. I have relied on the substantial documentation available from the IBO for my interpretation of the developers' view of the program.

I have also gathered much of the documentation resulting from the Edmonton planning project, which culminated in a set of course content guides approved for use in the schools by the provincial Minister of Education.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Hermeneutics denotes the science of interpretation. In the social sciences, the focus of hermeneutics is the interpretive methods used by man to reach the meaning behind myths and symbols (Palmer, 1969). For Heidegger (1959 : 29), the essence of man's being-in-the-world is a process of questioning in which that which is hidden is drawn out "into a concrete, historical occurrence" (Palmer, 1969 : 150). Gadamer (1975 : 333) has elaborated on the importance of questioning to understanding: "thus a person who seeks to understand must question what lies behind what is said. He must understand it as an answer to a question." In addition, such understanding is characterized by the circular relationships between the whole and its parts, such that any interpretive inquiry which begins with a preliminary questioning of meaning, undergoes modification and elaboration as the elements of the investigation are exposed and related to the contextual whole.

2. By informal interview, I have in mind a conversational exchange between two people who are prepared to share the meanings of their experiences. The direction of the interview is guided by those experiences which the participants recognize as relevant to the inquiry. The interviewer does not select questions designed to elicit the specifics of a situation, but rather, questions which, in revealing his "not-knowing" of the experience, invite the participant to disclose his interpretations.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY

Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the conceptual framework within which this exploration of planning for implementation has received direction. As mentioned earlier, this framework is not rigid, but evolving; not imposed on the research activities, but reciprocally dependent on the practical inquiry. In disclosing these specific guiding interests for my investigation, I hope to illuminate for the reader any particular biases which may be reflected in my account (cf. Robinson, 1974 : 263).

A fundamental assumption in this inquiry is that the individual participants in the planning project act with intentionality within any particular situation: that is to say, that each participant cognitively constitutes for himself meanings in the situation, on the basis of which he acts (Wagner, 1970 : 318). Formation of these meanings is dependent on the perspective of the participant, and thus the notion of perspective is an important construct in my conceptual framework. Building on the notion of perspective, I examine the possibilities of meanings in the concept of program implementation. Recognizing that the predominant view of this process has been that of placing a program of studies in a school, I consider alternative ways of thinking about the process.

A third significant component of my conceptual framework, which has grown with the inquiry, is the problem of the linkages between the micro contexts of participant planners and the macro context of social order. For the individual planners do not act in the isolation of a unique school system; they have chosen to become a member of the International Baccalaureate Organization (North America); they are citizens of a Canadian province and members of the western economic technocratic community in the second half of the twentieth century.

The Notion of Perspective

Planning for implementation involves both direct and indirect interactions among individuals who, as developers, administrators, teachers, and evaluators, prepare themselves to become participants in a program of studies. An understanding of the manner in which meanings are constituted by these individuals, and of the strategies by which these meanings are communicated among (and sometimes imposed on) the participants, may be gained from the social phenomenological descriptions of Alfred Schutz.

In his analysis of everyday life, Schutz develops the thesis that it is the meaning of our experiences which constitutes our social reality, which may be called our "everyday life", "world of daily life", or the "common-sense world." If we wish to examine the meanings or interpretations of this everyday life, we must first recognize that unless something happens to disrupt the flow of events, we take-for-granted this reality which we have constructed. Consequently, it is necessary for us to stand back, as it were, and disengage ourselves from these taken-for-granted events in order that we may

focus on them. In other words, meanings are not inherent in the experiences themselves; it is necessary for us to cognitively constitute them (Greene, 1971 : 264).

The way in which an individual orders, interprets and subsequently acts in the social world is guided by his viewpoint, or perspective. This includes his beliefs, intents and motives developed within a scheme of reference which has been passed on to him as an historical accumulation of interpreted experiences by parents, teachers and other humans. Since the biographical experience of each individual is unique, his perspective (or orientation) is his own, even though there may be some degrees of overlapping. Indeed, it is the extent to which these individual orientations coincide that makes possible the notion of "groups" of persons. Thus in a project of program implementation, participants are interpreting and acting from their individual and/or group stand-points, that is, from multiple perspectives.

Of the several aspects of everyday life considered by Schutz, one deals with the manner in which the individual orients himself, in order to make sense of the world in which he finds himself. From the vast complex of his subjectively experienced plans, certain elements prevail at particular moments, which direct the focus of his attention and which determine his selection of information from previous experiences, enabling him "to define his situation thinkingly, actingly, emotionally, to find his way in it, and come to terms with it" (Schutz, 1966 : 123). Our choice of what we select to see at any particular point in time is guided by a "motivational focus" (Wagner, 1970: 319) which we may call the "interest-at-hand", and we act towards the realization of this interest. However, the interest-at-hand is not an isolated element in our everyday plans, but part of a network of interests in which

priorities are constantly changing. These interests determine our system of relevances, which at any particular instance consists of zones of primary and secondary relevances and of relative irrelevance (Schutz, 1970 : 33; Wagner, 1970 : 321). In the primary zone of relevance, the individual is able to utilize his experiential knowledge to realize his interests-at-hand, whereas in secondary zones, importance is ascribed to only those aspects of the situation which relate to the conditions for achieving the interest-guided plans.

Schutz (1970 : 126) makes the distinction between "in-order-to" motives and "because-of" motives. The former refer to the experience of the individual intent on realizing pre-conceived goals; they guide and underlie his actions planned to accomplish the chosen goals, and they are the dominant interests-at-hand. The "because-of" motives reflect the past experiences of the individual, as he looks backwards on his actions. Program planners may embrace the assumptions and beliefs associated with "in-order-to" motives, as well as the concerns of "because-of" motives.

The development of a program of studies by a group of educators gathered in Geneva was guided by the beliefs and motives of this particular group of individuals, in a particular time and place. The resulting program, now known as the IBP, is a reflection of the perspectives of its developers. Underlying the IBP are the developers' presuppositions about knowledge and education, students and learning, teachers and teaching, and man in a social world.

The administrators and teachers in the Edmonton public school district are two groups of educators involved in the planning for implementation of IBP into new situations. The actions of the

individuals comprising these groups are also guided by beliefs and interests shaped by intents and experiences. The degree to which the perspectives of the planning groups coincide with those of the developers poses the problem of program implementation. The extent to which such a plurality of perspectives is recognized may be the key to creative planning. The perceived perspectives of the IBP developers and the Edmonton administrators and teachers are described in Chapter III.

Concepts of Program Implementation

The interpretation of a program of studies is dependent on the recognition of our membership in a cultural heritage, a tradition viewed by critical theorists as generating constraints, distortions and alienation. The framework provided by Habermas (1972) suggests a number of orientations for examining the contemporary practice of curriculum implementation, and contemplating the implications of the alternative conceptualizations.

According to Habermas, man's interests fall into three categories, each of which determines the nature of activities to be pursued, and the mode of the knowledge to be accepted. Within our modern industrial society, the dominant interests lie in the efficient and predictive control of the intellectual and technical world (Habermas, 1972 : 301; Apple, 1975 : 127). Such guiding interests tend to act as a filter which excludes consideration of alternative possibilities for interpreting man's actions. We allow ourselves to become trapped within the confines of one set of interests because of our reluctance to contemplate other modes of consciousness, such as that in which interest is focused on the constituted meanings of lived experience, stemming

from the basic activity of communicating in a social world. This orientation has been called the situational-interpretative (Aoki, 1978) or hermeneutical stance, in contrast to the empirical-analytic mode governed by instrumental interests. A third interest is emancipatory and gives rise to reflective concern for the human condition, with a subsequent call for active involvement to improve it. It is from this critical stance that Paulo Freire (1972, 1974, 1978) has engaged in a dialogical involvement with humans around the world. He conceives education as the practice of freedom, in which individuals discover how to participate in transforming the world. The essence of such a practice is the creative encounter called dialogue.

There are many orientations for inquiring into program planning and implementation. The following represent three possibilities: an empirical-analytic stance which conceives of implementation as installation; a situational-interpretative stance which views implementation as interpretation; and a critical stance which conceives of implementation as reflective action.

IMPLEMENTATION AS INSTALLATION

From the technical perspective, a program of studies is considered to be a prescriptive package of means-ends relationships, in which methodologies have been devised to attain certain formulated objectives considered to be indicators of desired pupil achievement. The program is defined by the content of the courses and the recommended instructional approach for achieving the specified objectives. It is assumed that developers, planners, teachers, students and parents view the package in the same way, as if from the same perspective. The roles

adopted by individuals in the task-oriented hierarchy of a public school is assumed to contribute to this unified perspective. Thus administrators control the managerial aspects of the package, and teachers dispense the contents to students in the classroom. Evaluation of the program implementation will be in terms of the goals set for the program - such as specified levels of achievement in objective examinations.

This orientation to program implementation is analogous to the installation of (say) carpeting throughout an institution. Once the budgeting for the idea has been approved by the administrative purse-holders (adoption of the program), the institution (school system) is appraised and the specifications noted, so that the fitters (program planners) may prepare for installation by trimming the carpet (program of studies) to the appropriate dimensions. In general, the fitters do not require assistance from the occupants of the institution (teachers and students) who passively accept the installation as an addition to their everyday existence.

This installation view of program implementation has lent itself readily to a systems approach for inquiry. In order to predict and control the transfer of the package, theorists attempt to derive models which demonstrate the nature of the interrelationships between system components. Havelock (1971) offered two models of change, both of which assume a linear progression from research to development to diffusion and adoption of the program package; that is, a one-way transmission from originator of the program to receivers of the program. Following the scheme conceived by Rogers (1962), the social interaction model is mostly concerned with the processes of adoption of the package, and postulates a sequence of awareness, interest, evaluation and trial as

preceding adoption of a program. In the Research, Development and Diffusion (RD & D) model, the activities of the disseminators of the program are broken down into seven sub-stages, in all of which the "receivers" of the program remain essentially passive.

The investigator working within this orientation to program development and implementation tends to be preoccupied with quantification, measurement, and management of program factors which affect the extent to which a program is used as intended by the developer, that is, the fidelity of the implementation (Fullan and Pomfret, 1977 : 360). Features of such fidelity studies are instruments designed to assess behavioral differences among teachers (Naumann-Etienne, 1974; Gross et al., 1971) or teacher attitudes (Wint, 1977; Hestand, 1973), and attempts to correlate certain behaviors and attitudes with the extent of implementation (Bjork, 1970; Duet, 1972). These studies imply that cause-and-effect relationships exist among the factors at play during implementation, and that if the relationships can be characterized in sufficient detail, the process will become amenable to efficient direction and control.

The RD & D model reached its prime in the late 1960's, and since then its influence has declined considerably. Guba and Clark (1975) who were responsible for the RD & D model known as the "Classification Schema of Processes Related to and Necessary for Change in Education" (1965), have now abandoned the approach, noting that the systems perspective has tended to produce efforts which are "centralized, narrow and unimaginative." They add that such a view does not take into account the idiosyncratic goals of individuals, and has led to an over-controlling and over-centralizing of programs. They have reconceptualized program development and implementation in terms of community relationships and interactions.

Rogers (quoted in House, 1979 : 4) has also modified his position on diffusion of educational programs, identifying three major deficiencies. First, he recognizes a lack of attention to the process of innovation. Second, he suggests that there has been bias in favor of innovation. Third, he considers that there has been an over-emphasis of the individual as the unit of analysis due to a psychological bias.

In spite of criticism and unsuccessful results, the technical model for implementation is not easily relinquished, and in many educational systems the belief remains that it is possible to transplant a program into a school or school system.

IMPLEMENTATION AS INTERPRETATION

If one presupposes that participants in an educational project are unique, purposeful individuals, which is the case in this study, then a program of studies may be considered in terms of the multiple meanings, perceptions and assumptions held by the members. For each involved person, from his particular vantage-point in space and time, a particular set of meanings for the program will emerge and evolve. Inevitably, the intents and meanings of the program for the developers will differ from those of the planners preparing to use it, because of the variations in time, place and purpose of the individuals, and the perspectives from which they interpret their experiences. If the fidelity of implementation is a priority, as it might be in situations in which students' achievement is subject to external assessment, the program of studies requires interpretation because "it encapsulates the meanings (intents, motives, plans and outlooks) of one group (the program developers) which another group (teachers, students,

parents) attempts to grasp" (Werner, 1976 : 205). The interpretive act is that of endeavoring to "imaginatively project the in-order-to and because-of motive of the other person as it if were their own and use the fancied carrying-out of such an action as a scheme in which to interpret his lived experiences" (Schutz, 1972 : 115).

The difficulty with attempting to project oneself into the framework of the developer of a program of studies is that as a planner, teacher, or student, each individual inevitably constructs his own frame of reference, grounded in personal motives, actions, context, and logic-in-use. And the program evolves, not as a consequence of projecting the developers' intentions, but as a product of the assumptions and orientations embedded in the practices of the participants, exemplifying the idea of "curriculum as practice" (Young, 1975 : 133). From this viewpoint, knowledge is perceived not as a commodity to be distributed or transmitted, but as "that which is accomplished in the collaborative work of teachers and pupils." This goes far beyond the concept of implementation as a process of mutual adaptation (McLaughlin, 1976), although the basic premise for both is the notion of multiple perspectives.

Fullan and Pomfret (1977 : 361) suggest that a curriculum change involves five dimensions: changes in (a) subject matter or materials, (b) organizational structure, (c) role/behavior, (d) knowledge and understanding, and (e) value internalization. I am suggesting that concerns falling within the first two dimensions are dealt with in the technical orientation of the planners, whereas the concerns of the remaining dimensions are encompassed by the view of implementation as an interpretative process. As Fullan and Park (1981 : 21) suggest, implementation will occur to the extent that "every teacher has the opportunity to work out the meaning of implementation in practice."

Ideally, implementation as interpretation would include the "shared understanding among participants of the presuppositions, values and assumptions which underlie a program" (Werner, 1979). If developers, administrators and teachers examined their implicit beliefs about a program and its implementation, they would have a basis for interpreting and coming to understand any discrepancies which exist among the groups. Such self examination would be an essential task prior to constructive communication among participants involved in implementation. We tend to assume that our perspective of a program is interchangeable with the perspectives held by those with whom we communicate, and hence we generally believe that we "understand" one another. It is not usual in implementation planning to make the matter of communication a problem. However, recognition of the multiple perspectives from which a program may be viewed, i.e. those of developers, administrators, teachers, students, invites those involved to consider the conditions necessary for shared understanding.

IMPLEMENTATION AS REFLECTIVE ACTION

Although curriculum implementation may be understood as recognition of multiple realities for participants, there is no related call to act upon the explicated meanings with the purpose of improving the conditions of program members. Yet surely "an integral aspect of educational research is the critical evaluation of the quality and direction of the course of life provided in schooling" (Popkewitz, 1980 : 44). Interpretive studies within the purely phenomenological framework, while providing for the possibility of enhanced communication and understanding, have been criticized on a number of grounds; primarily that of failing to provide participants with strategies for

changing their situation, and secondarily, for ignoring the features of the broader contextual framework (Eggleston & Gleeson, 1977 : 24; Fay, 1975 : 82; Sharp & Green, 1975 : 24). The interpretive orientation, in its concern to portray teachers and pupils as "theorists in their own right ... has also become abstracted from the constraints of the teachers' lived experience" (Young, 1975 : 135).

In the critical stance, a program of studies is viewed as a set of assumptions, beliefs, and values. It is shaped not only by the interests of individual participants, but by the broader interests of societal groups subject to diverse economic, political, or cultural attachments. Critical implementation requires that the implicit features of a program be disclosed by the planners in order that its implications may be studied. It is necessary for planners to understand the relations among the values and interests in the program during its socio-historical development in order that they, the planners, might transform the program. This view of implementation as "practical action" or "praxis" (Aoki, 1980) conceptualizes implementation as critical reflection and transformative action. Competence in implementation represents an endeavor to free the planning teacher from hidden assumptions and intentions, of both himself and the program.

In Chapter IV, I focus on the perceived dominant interests of some of the Edmonton teachers as they are reflected in their concerns during the planning period. Recognition of these interests will assist us in better understanding the orientations of involved participant groups to planning for IBP implementation.

The Problem of Linkages Between Micro and Macro Contexts of Program Implementation

So far, I have discussed the conceptualizations which deal mainly with the microcontext of program implementation. In particular, I have been concerned with how the perspectives of those involved individuals give rise to dominant interests[1], and how, in turn, those interests direct the nature of the activities of the planners. The emphasis has been on the individual participant and his sense-making in a specific situation at a particular time. However, the view of implementation as reflective action entails the situating of local interactions into a much broader, macro context. For as Whitty and Young (1976) comment, "the implication to teachers [that] to suspend their own taken-for-granted assumptions and to examine critically their own practices would produce a transformation in their activities was ludicrously naive." It was naive because "there are limits to people's possibilities for action." These limits are imposed on the situation by interests not necessarily directly connected with those of the participant educators, but integral to the macro context of education in society. For, as suggested by Bernstein (1971 : 47), "how a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control."

In his endeavor to elaborate a theory of cultural transmission, Bernstein (1975 : 2) comments on the micro and macro levels of analysis, acknowledging difficulty in moving to the macro analysis "until I had some grip upon the local relationships at the micro aspect ... I think it is possibly because I am sensitive to interactions and once these are part of my experience, I can begin to intuit what I take to be the structural principles which they embody."

The difficulties associated with attempting to move to the macro dimension in an empirical study have been noted by Hammersley (1979) and Hargreaves (1982). Hammersley suggests that two major strategies have been adopted for dealing with the problem when working from the interactionist framework[2]: in the first, interactionism is replaced at the macro level with alternative approaches such as critical theory, reproduction theories, etc. The second strategy is to incorporate the interactionist analysis into a macro framework, as exemplified by the case studies of Sharp and Green (1975) and Willis (1977). In the former study, the authors attempt to illustrate the impact of material reality, power and control on the relationships constituted in the classrooms of a progressive primary school. In his ethnography of working class boys proceeding through their last two years at school, Willis follows up with an analysis which examines the ways in which the observed cultural processes contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of the social order. Willis[3] employs key analytical concepts to interpret the lived experience of his subjects, and relate their lifestyles to the role of institutions in cultural and social reproduction. The study illustrates the necessary search for connections, or linkages between the micro and macro dimensions, while avoiding the one-way determinations of individuals' existences, and the mechanistic theories of economic and cultural reproduction underpinning them (Apple, 1980 : 61; Sharp, 1980 : 138). However, critics of this approach, such as Hammersley (1979 : 202), argue that a single case study is not a sufficient data base for an "attempt to reconcile sociological approaches but also to document a substantial chunk of the social world."

Hargreaves (1982 : 120) suggests that there has been "an avoidance of empirical research or reluctance to develop and test theory through a

dialogue with carefully analyzed empirical evidence", resulting in ungrounded, distorted theories. Hargreaves is particularly critical of the commitment to social change upheld by many Marxist writers providing commentary in the macro dimension. He urges researchers to distance their political involvements from the sociological analyses, in order to avoid theoretical narrowness and analytic distortion (p. 111).

In addressing the problem of conceptual linkages between the macro and micro dimensions of sociological analysis, it may be useful to permit a shift in attention from the specific interactions of individuals as they occur in observed events, to the pattern of these interactions. One such attempt to span the micro-macro analytical approaches is illustrated in the negotiated order perspective elaborated by Strauss (1978). Making the assumption that negotiation is an integral component of any social order, the perspective seeks to link micro analyses of negotiations among individuals in organizations with the features of the social settings in which the negotiations occur: but in their critique of the approach, Day and Day (1977) argue that theoretical considerations have been "largely submerged within a series of fairly specific 'grounded' case studies" (p. 126), and that the potential for exploring the connections between the negotiative processes and macro-level issues of power and control has not yet been exploited.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. In Knowledge and Human Interests, Habermas uses the term "interests" to refer to the interest-bound character of different forms of knowledge. They are the basic orientations of man, rooted in the activities of work and interaction, including learning and arriving at mutual understanding. It is unfortunate that "interests" is also used to indicate the motivational focus of individuals or groups with particular objectives. It is in this sense that Schutz understands the term. In this report, interests designated as technical, interpretive and reflective are understood to be related to activities yielding empirical knowledge, meaning or knowledge of thought and action.

2. The so-called interactionist framework is a loosely defined approach which draws upon the theoretical perspective found in the writings of G.H. Mead. It is significant for this report that Alfred Schutz was influenced in his thinking by Mead's description of social life as an active accomplishment of purposive, knowledgable actors. But 'social' in Mead's accounts is limited to familial figures and the 'generalized other', and he did not extend his descriptions to society at large. It is this failure to elaborate on the conception of a differentiated society that presents a problem for those wishing to consider social practices from an interactionist standpoint.

3. Willis (1977) uses the notions of penetration and limitation to approach a deeper understanding of the cultural forms observed in his ethnographic study. By penetration, he means an unrecognized assessment of the reality of school and work by the students in response to the conditions they have experienced. The students "see through" school work as mental labor associated with obedience and conformity. They learn to work the system, pursuing strategies of resistance which counter the official activities of school. However, these unconscious insights are prevented from resulting in any social transformation by diversions, or limitations, which repress, disorganize and prevent the counter culture from reaching its potential. Indeed, the emergent counter culture works against the students, returning them to the social division of labor to which they were born.

CHAPTER III

THE PERCEIVED PERSPECTIVES OF PROGRAM DEVELOPERS AND PLANNERS

Introduction

As I have suggested in the previous chapter, the acts of program developing and planning for implementation are guided by the perspectives of individual participants. The majority of these participants are members of distinct groups, identifiable by the nature of their assigned and accepted responsibilities in this educational project. Membership in such a group carries with it certain expectations for the expression of interests by its members, such that a shared outlook on the planning activities is projected by each group, even 'if the concerns of the individuals may not be entirely consistent with it.

I begin this chapter by characterizing the perceived "interest" groups in this project of planning for implementation. I then elaborate on the groups' perceptions of the need for the IBP, and its worth. Any program of studies implies certain values and assumptions about the nature of knowing and learning, and of being a student and a teacher. I examine the values and assumptions which appear to be held by the planners, and compare them with those implicit in the IBP itself. Finally, I contemplate whose interests are being served by the planning to implement the IBP in the Edmonton public school district.

The "Interest" Groups

THE DEVELOPERS OF THE IBP

Development of the program of studies now known as the International Baccalaureate Program (IBP) spanned the years from 1962 to 1969. Playing a major role in the sponsorship of the development, social studies teachers in the English language section of the Geneva International School prepared an experimental examination for use in June 1963. The following fall, an International Schools Association (ISA) Examination Advisory Committee was formed in order that members of the Graduate Institute of International Affairs in the University of Geneva could assist with the planning of the 1964 examinations. This committee became the Executive Committee of the new International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES), the separate legal entity established to handle the formation and operation of the university entrance examination program. Atlantic College, in Wales, was brought into the Executive Committee of ISES as a full participating partner with the Geneva School in 1964 (Leach, 1969).

During these early years, a group of sponsors composed of distinguished educators and international civil servants in the neighborhood of Geneva, was invited to select a directorate which would assume responsibility for major policy-making of the ISES. French, German and American educators became associated with the Council of the ISES: in 1966, this consisted of twelve distinguished international personalities, of whom three were British, two French, and seven from other nations. The first language for half the members was English, and for one third of the Council, French. Professor A.D.C. Peterson, then head of the Department of Educational Studies at Oxford University, was

appointed Director of the organization, now known as the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO). He was to be assisted by two consultants, Gérard Renaud of the Geneva International School (and now the current Director) and Dr. William Halls of the Oxford Department of Educational Studies. Both had been active members of the old Executive Committee.

Mr. Peterson served as Director part-time until January 1967, and full-time (on his sabbatical leave) for six months thereafter. At the conclusion of his sabbatical, Peterson retained his part-time directorship, aided by full-time resident assistants, Renaud, and Sellars, an educational administrator on two-year leave from the Inner London Educational Authority (Mayer, 1968 : 229).

At the time of the formation of the IBO, Mr. Peterson was also a member of the Council of Atlantic College in Wales, which together with the Geneva school (Ecolint) served as the site for the 1967 experimental examinations in history, geography (Ecolint), Latin and physics (Atlantic) and modern foreign languages (both). Mr. Peterson travelled widely, making personal contact with educators around the world. He remained head of the Oxford Department of Educational Studies until 1973, and Director-General of the IBO until his retirement in 1977. There is no question that as a result of his writings and personal contacts, Mr. Peterson exerted a significant influence in the development of the IBP. Mr. Peterson was succeeded in the position of Director-General by his assistant, Gérard Renaud, while accepting the Vice-Presidency of the IBO Council to maintain his personal link with the organization to which he had devoted much time and energy for over a decade.

The preparation of content outlines and examinations for different courses in the IBP was delegated to groups of teachers (between five and ten in number) known as subject panels. Between the spring of 1965 and the end of 1967, there were about thirty meetings to work on the task of preparing syllabuses and examinations. Nobody was paid for attendance at these meetings or relieved of duties to prepare for them. No meeting lasted longer than three days (Mayer, 1968 : 220). In all, 148 educators were involved in the production of the eleven syllabuses, 108 of whom were teachers in international schools (or their equivalent); 40 were University of Department of Education level; 36 of the teachers were associated with the International School of Geneva (Leach, 169 : 113).

EDMONTON PUBLIC SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Two groups may be differentiated here on the grounds that the participants in Central Office make decisions on behalf of the whole school system, whereas the high school administrators (i.e., the principal and vice-principals) make decisions which affect the running of one specific school.

CENTRAL OFFICE ADMINISTRATORS

At the time of this study, the city school system was administered by a hierarchical organization headed by the appointed Superintendent and eight Associate Superintendents, six of whom were directly responsible to the Superintendent for the overall management of a specific geographical zone within the city. Assistant Superintendents

of major divisions such as Student Services, Personnel, Monitoring Services and Curriculum, were assisted by Directors (eight) and Supervisors (sixteen) in specific curricular and instructional areas.

The administrators directly associated with the planning for the implementation of the IBP in Edmonton included the Associate Superintendent of Instructional Services, the Director of Curriculum, the Director of Program Development and the Art Supervisor.

The Superintendent of Edmonton School District No. 7 is accountable to an elected Board of Trustees, which meets weekly to consider policy for the school system. At least four of the Trustees at the time of this study were (or had been) full-time educators.

HIGH SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Of the ten senior secondary schools in the city public school system, only four of the administrations submitted proposals requesting approval for their participation in the International Baccalaureate of North America (IBNA). For reasons not entirely understood by anyone with whom I enquired, only three of these proposals received initial appproval, the fourth being accepted by the IBNA in the following calendar year. The official reason given for this selection was that IBNA was unwilling to expand too suddenly, and only ten schools were to be accepted into the organization in Canada each calendar year. However, all four city schools will introduce the program simultaneously, although teachers from the fourth school were not members of the curriculum planning committees (with one exception).

It is the responsibility of the principal and vice-principals to approve or reject specific courses proposed for their school. In some schools there may be open discussion of each proposal at a staff meeting attended by all members of the staff. In other schools, a proposal may be considered first by the administrators and heads of department, who will then relay to individual members the essence of the proposal from his standpoint. There may, or may not be a general staff vote on whether to accept a proposal for new programming.

In recent years, the administrative management of the senior high schools has become more or less autonomous, particularly with respect to financing. The selection of courses thus becomes subject to the financial implications associated with providing staff and resources for a program.

TEACHERS

The June 9, 1980 Staff Bulletin of Edmonton Public Schools announced to the system that three named high schools would offer the International Baccalaureate Program commencing September 1981. Teachers interested in becoming associated with the program were invited to contact the supervisors of instructional staffing. The Director for Program Development suggested to principals of schools considering participation that the minimum standard for teachers volunteering to teach the higher-level courses be an honors degree in that subject. All the principals responding to the invitation to participate in the program supported the teachers already in place in their schools. The following comment characterizes the stance of the principals involved:

"We already have a nucleus of well-qualified and excellent teachers who undoubtedly could handle the program with no great need for upgrading, in-service, etc." Noting that natural attrition necessitates some staff appointments, the same principal allowed that the program would be an attraction to those with some rare expertise to become associated with the school. A second principal noted that his staff members were selected "on the basis of his academic and professional qualifications, demonstrated teaching ability, and firm belief in the importance of challenging the gifted student to achieve excellence." And a third principal regarded the essential requirements for a successful IB teacher to be "motivated and capable", attributes which characterized current staff members. Thus, with the exception of one English teacher, who was recruited to fill a position which became available due to natural attrition, all the members of the group identified as teachers in this study were already on the staff in the schools opting to introduce the IBP. Enthusiasm for the implementation of the IBP could not be described as unanimous or overwhelming. Some teachers indicated that they had been "volunteered", and as one explained, "Now that the school is in the program, I am the only person available to present the subsidiary language course."

Although a few of the participating teachers possess a Ph.D. in their subject area, some of the incumbent teachers do not hold honors degrees in their disciplinary field. The majority of the teachers have been employed by the Edmonton school system for more than five years, and are regarded by the administrators as experienced and responsible. Many of the teachers carry some administrative responsibility within the school, such as head of department. The teaching experience of the three teachers who made up the Biology Committee for the IBP planning exceeded fifty years. One member was currently head of the science

department in his respective school, and another became head of the science department in his school in September, 1981. The third member of the committee carried responsibilities (equivalent to that of department head) as staff advisor to the Student Union. Two of the committee members held B.Ed. degrees, with one majoring in biological sciences and the other in physical education. The third member of the committee held a B.Sc., with Zoology major. Two of these teachers had completed Masters degrees in Education, and all three teachers had been involved in Biology curriculum ad hoc committees at the system and/or provincial level.

STUDENTS AND PARENTS

This very important group constitutes what is frequently termed "the public" by teachers and administrators in the city educational system. My contact with students and parents directly concerned with the planning for the IBP in Edmonton was limited to attending the public meetings organized by the Central Office and/or school to drum up interest in the program. Throughout the planning year there was an underlying fear by the planners that insufficient students would register for the program, a rather surprising concern, in view of the affirmed call for the program by "the public." The administrative staff of the participating schools actively solicited support for the program from junior high school principals and Grade 9 Honors students.

Announcement of the adoption of the IBP in three (and later, four) city schools resulted in a series of letters to the editor of the local newspaper, not from prospective students or their parents, but other members of "the public", voicing criticism of elitist projects.

Grade 9 students in city schools are required to pre-register in high school programs during the May and June prior to changing schools. In light of the decision by Edmonton administrators to make Grade X a "pre-IB" year, Grade 9 students must therefore come to a decision at the age of fourteen or fifteen about the suitability of the IBP for their senior school years.

Perceived Need for the IBP

DEVELOPERS

Since its establishment in 1924, the International School of Geneva (Ecolint) was confronted with the problem of different national certificates which students completing their secondary education would have to acquire if they hoped to be admitted to the universities in their home countries. The staff at Ecolint dreamed of an international university entrance examination, because "existing national examination requirements crippled even the most imaginative efforts to offer a single secondary program" (Mayer, 1968 : 10). And so, at these earliest stages of planning, the intent was to create an examination program acceptable as admission requirements by universities around the world, which would permit the students at Ecolint to pursue a common program of studies. It was not intended as an attempt to reconcile the academic programs of different cultures (Mayer, 1968 : 9).

A consequence of the mobility of intergovernmental, commercial and industrial personnel is that the children of such families not only attend school outside their own country, but they also make frequent moves among countries. The IB proponents therefore perceived a need to provide a program which, if adopted by a number of multinational schools, would minimize the educational disruption of family transfers.

During the last decade, in the mind of one of the IBP's most forceful proponents, the program has evolved into one which could meet "the desire of young people anywhere, in whatever educational system they may be found, who see themselves increasingly as citizens both of their native country and of an independent world, and who therefore seek in their education a wider horizon and a wider range of choice than the purely national" (Peterson, 1977).

And so the International Baccalaureate Program, conceived as a common school-leaving examination to satisfy the needs of university-bound students in multinational schools, has come to be thought of as an "educational system whose principal characteristic ... is to be a vehicle for international understanding and for the promotion of different cultures." (Renaud, 1982 : 11).

CENTRAL OFFICE ADMINISTRATORS

Aware that a generation of academically able students accustomed to an enriched "core" program was entering the city senior high schools, Central Office administrators considered the options available. They could maintain the locally enriched courses in some (notably two of the participating IB schools) but not all of the senior high schools; they could begin a project of curriculum development with the intent of creating an Edmonton program uniquely suited to the community; or they could search for an already existing program of studies. The disadvantage of the first option was that only the individual teachers

really knew the dimensions of the enrichment offered, and students who may have achieved at a considerably higher academic level throughout the course when compared with the regular Grade XII course received credits for a course identified as the regular course.

The second option offered seemingly endless hurdles to the administrators; not only would it entail a major project of curriculum development, the product of which would require approval from Alberta Education, but it would require considerable time for development and planning - a matter of years. And since the students who had received enriched academic programs in junior high schools were already in the senior high schools, a long period of development and planning hardly seemed appropriate. Thus the third alternative, that of finding an existing program, compatible with provincial course content requirements, and providing recognition for the students' academic efforts, seemed to be the preferred course of action.

In the spring of 1979, the staff of the academic high school in the school district undertook an analysis of the IBP, with a view to adopting it. They were primarily concerned with the identification of fields of study which displayed an extensive correlation with the content of Alberta Education curricula. Their analysis of IBP course outlines and examination papers suggested that the Edmonton schools could offer at the higher level:

Language A - English
Study of Man - History
Experimental Science - Biology

and at the subsidiary level:

Language B - French
Mathematics
Second Science - Chemistry.

This selection of courses would fulfil the time and content requirements of Alberta Education as well as the entrance requirements of the universities of Alberta (Administrator, April '80). This rationale for the selection of the six fields of study was reiterated in the submission to Trustees, in May 1980, which identified the three schools accepted for participation in the IBP. It was noted that "all three schools have chosen to offer only subsidiary level Mathematics because the IB expectations in Mathematics are very much higher than our present program; while Biology is being offered at higher level because in this area the difference is not so marked" (Report to Trustees, p. 2, May 16, 1980).

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Of the ten senior high schools in the school district, four submitted proposals for the implementation of the IBP. It is interesting to note that the perceived need for IBP was delineated in only two of the proposals. Both cited examples of students from families who are internationally and nationally mobile, and deemed that such students would find the IBP "attractive because of its international acceptability." One of the proposals noted that students of the school had initiated enquiries about the United World Colleges which offer the IBP, and in addition, past graduates of the school had gone on to study in the international community, at, for example, Grenoble, Yale and Harvard. Thus, "possession of an IB Diploma would be of significant benefit to this category of student." The IB Diploma is perceived to be a desirable acquisite for certain socioeconomic groups of students by the administrators of these schools. One proposal suggested that many families in Edmonton are searching for a

"challenging, rewarding, and prestigious" program of studies. This is indicated by the number of potential students who are enrolled in private schools which offer programs such as the IB. For the many whose options are limited by financial considerations, but who, nonetheless, are seeking "the opportunities that are inherent" in the IB, the Edmonton public high school will move to satisfy this perceived need.

At this point, it is perhaps relevant to note that the administrators of one high school who did not perceive a need for obtaining an internationally recognized credential, and thus did not submit a proposal for participation in the IBP, were surprised by the interest expressed in parents' concerned telephone inquiries once it was announced that this was not to be one of the schools offering the program.

In summary, the Central Office was aware of the absence of a differentiated program for academically able students at the senior high school level. A Trustee who has been a member of the district Standards Committee remarked that "What we have done through all these years in Edmonton is force people to waste talent .... You're encouraged to work hard in our schools if you're just kind of average, but if you're bright, you aren't encouraged to excel."

The school administrators recognized that students from socially and economically aspiring families would be encouraged to strive for the highest credential available in the high school system. The number of internationally mobile students in Edmonton is relatively small.

TEACHERS

Following the opening of the small (200-300 students) "academic" high school in the district in 1976, the administration and teachers of this school came to feel that there was a real need to introduce a cohesive program of studies which would distinguish the activities of the school. In its first years, the school struggled with the dilemma of offering a locally enriched core program with limited staff and resources, and no external recognition for its efforts to challenge the gifted student to achieve excellence. The teachers of this school sought a challenging and stimulating program with a coherent framework, not just a set of isolated courses in different subject areas, and they believed that the IBP offered the potential for such a program.

The teachers in other high schools revealed varied perceptions of the need to offer differentiated programs for the brighter students. The arguments for and against streaming surfaced as the situation was viewed from the teacher's standpoint. The majority of teachers involved in the planning for implementation acknowledged that working with the more able students offered them the possibility of considerable challenge and satisfaction.

Thus the perceived need for IBP in Edmonton derived largely from a group of teachers located in a differentiated "academic" high school, who sought a district program of studies for their institution. Teachers in other participating schools were generally ambivalent with the regard to the need for the IBP; those teachers who volunteered to become a part of the program did so for personal reasons (described in Chapter IV).

Summary of Perceived Needs for the IBP

The original development of the IBP resulted from a perceived need by international schools for a common university-entrance qualification. Since the end of its experimental period, the IBP has been portrayed as an educational program designed to satisfy the needs of those looking for "a wider horizon and a wider range of choice than the purely national" curricula (Peterson, 1977).

Trustees and administrators of the Edmonton public school district perceived a need to offer an enrichment program for academically able students at the senior high school level. Although some high schools offered locally developed, enriched courses, these did not constitute an integrated program receiving appropriate recognition.

The administrators and teachers in a small high school established specifically to offer an "academic" program identified the IBP as fulfilling that school's requirement for an intellectually challenging, cohesive program of studies. The administrators of two (later three) other high schools recognized that the IB Diploma would be a valued credential to certain families among their communities, and proposed to offer the IBP.

With the exception of some of the teachers in the academic high school, most of the teachers were uncommitted to the prospect of "a school within a school", a closely-knit IBP within the composite high school.

Perceived Worth of the Program

DEVELOPERS

Concerned with the "over-concentration and premature concentration on the development of the academic talents" of the intellectually gifted (Peterson, 1972 : 35), Peterson envisaged a two-year pre-university program which would provide students with the opportunity of "learning to learn through experience of the main modes through which man improves his capacity to understand, to modify, and to enjoy his environment" (Peterson, 1977a : 37). His commitment was first to the development of those mental powers and capacities which contribute to sensitivity and humaneness, and secondly to intellectual excellence and innovation. Peterson assumed that the students who enrolled in the IBP Diploma program would be academically motivated, and that the granting of a Diploma was not the reason for undertaking the program. However, since these gifted students were assumed to be bound for University, the Diploma should be recognized as a valid entrance qualification. Thus the standards developed in the examinations tended to be the highest common denominator between and among national systems (Mayer, 1968 : 217).

Peterson placed particular value on the Theory of Knowledge course (to be discussed in detail in the next section) in which all Diploma students would come to some awareness of our potential for different modes of knowing. The Theory of Knowledge course was to be the cornerstone of the program, providing the links between the various modes of communication and analysis, that is, the connections between the studies pursued in six subject areas.

Recognizing that the pressures of an external examination system frequently result in the exclusion of all but intellectual activity, Peterson built into the program a requirement for each student to spend some part of his school time in creative and aesthetic activity or in social service, or in both.

In brief, Peterson designed a program which would permit students to engage in different forms of thinking, with time built in for reflection on these different forms, while simultaneously satisfying the requirements for university entrance qualification. His vision was the developer's ideal.

CENTRAL OFFICE ADMINISTRATORS

In a submission to the Trustees (December 9, 1979), Central Office administrators attributed the strength of the IBP to the fact that it "enriches the core." This feature was perceived to be the key to the lack of success entertained by past enrichment programs, viewed as peripheral to the core. The submission also noted the wide range of subject areas in which an IB candidate could select to be examined, suggesting that the program had the potential to "broaden, deepen and stretch the dimensions of the offerings of our high schools." However, this wide range of study areas would not be available immediately to Edmonton students, since the implementation process would begin with those fields of study which best articulated with existing Alberta Education curricula, namely English, Biology, History at higher level, and French, Mathematics, and Chemistry at subsidiary level.

The justification of the selection of an externally produced and assessed program, rather than undertaking to create a local one, was in terms of the "more tangible rewards", i.e. an IB Diploma, which is "acknowledged throughout the world." The credibility of the program, as reflected by its wide acceptance by universities, and by its prestige as the curriculum of many multinational schools and private schools, was important for the Trustees, who were not prepared to gamble on an unknown program. Such views were echoed by the Director of Curriculum of Alberta Education:

> "It's a known program. I believe the program has rigor, because of its acceptance by universities around the world. There's no question in my mind that the student who graduates with an IB Diploma has had a more rigorous training than the student in Alberta who matriculates. It reflects the higher level examinations."

It is probably fair to say that the prime movers among Central Office administrators and Trustees planning for the implementation of the IBP in three Edmonton schools viewed the program as offering primarily an intellectual challenge to the academically motivated students in senior schools. The challenge would not be restrictive, however, but broadening the outlook on life, encompassing arts, sciences, and social services. The tendency of their colleagues to focus on the terminal examinations as being the culmination of the program did give rise to some concern; fears that creative activities of students might be curtailed, and that the examination might "become larger than the education" were expressed by one Trustee. The Associate Superintendent for curriculum agreed:

> "If it [the program] just has an academic emphasis, it won't be the exciting program I thought it would be."

He indicated, as did others anxious for the Edmonton planning, that he entertained an international dimension to the program.

This "international" orientation for IBP, consistently identified as a positive feature of the program by Edmonton administrators, remains elusive. Certainly the experience of sharing the study of various disciplinary fields with students from different nations, as in the United World Colleges, will not be the general pattern. IB candidates in Edmonton will write examinations that are administered from Geneva and London, and assessed by an international team of examiners. The IB Diploma and Certificates are recognized as credentials by most universities around the world. But this hardly gives an international orientation to the activities in which Edmonton teachers and students are engaged. As we will see in later sections, this aspect of the program provides us with an explicit example of the problem of implementation. The General Guide to the International Baccalaureate (1977) suggests that a "less tangible .... asset will (hopefully) be an 'international-mindedness' evolving from programmes that have been created by teachers from different national systems with the aim of encouraging in each pupil an awareness of cultures other than his own." Perceived as an asset by the Edmonton administrators, we can ask what does "international-mindedness" mean to those planning to instruct in the program?

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

I conversed with one school administrator who was outspoken in his views of the program. Insomuch as the program offers the potential to develop critical thinking and the ability to conceptualize, he thought it would be a valuable enrichment for the academically able students. He did not think it was the alternative which should have been adopted by Central Office and the Trustees; he favored the development of a

local program, an Advanced Placement for Alberta, in which local relevances would assume a more significant role. From the administrator's standpoint, he (and others) expressed concern for the accountability to which he would be held, and the fact that his students would also be assessed on their performance in the Alberta Education examinations. Although the worth of the IBP in terms of offering an additional intellectual challenge for the more able students was not denied, the difficulty of incorporating the creative and social activities into the already crammed timetable of a public high school certainly did not enhance the value of the program from an administrative standpoint.

TEACHERS

Edmonton teachers involved in the planning for implementation of the IBP viewed the program as an ideal designed to stimulate and challenge the intellect within distinct disciplinary fields. As one teacher put it, IBP will provide the opportunity to "go as far as you can" intellectually in this field, with this level of student.

IB students in Edmonton will include additional courses in Biology, Chemistry, English and History, over and above those required for the regular matriculation program. Some teachers aware of the intended distribution of courses in the IBP, expressed concern:

> "the program is going to be so heavy that it doesn't allow for extracurricular activities",

and,

> "if it becomes a purely academic, enriched program, maybe these kids will be deprived. If they're IB, they're channelled into this series of courses, and there isn't room for drafting, or music and so on."

The label "this series of courses" is indicative of the failure by teachers to see the IBP as a cohesive cluster of activities integrated by the Theory of Knowledge course. None of the teachers with whom I conversed was inclined to participate in consideration of this key component of the program. It was something which "they" (Central Office) would have to work out.

One teacher told me that he really felt the philosophical objectives of the two programs were fundamentally incompatible. However, he found this revelation to be extremely threatening, and consequently attempted to cover it up. He said:

> "As far as objectives, you're going to end up with a citizen of the world in one case, and a citizen of Alberta in the other. Both good, moral, altruistic people able to cope with the vicissitudes of life, and so on. But if you look at what you actually do with the student, and the kinds of instruction you give, and the kinds of feeling that comes over in communications from IBO and Alberta Education, the Alberta Education program is much more pragmatic: its life-skills, its keeping a job, being able to speak to the boss. The IB product is a sort of Professor of English who at the same time is a world traveller, whereas the Alberta Education product is an ideal junior Chamber of Commerce president."

For the majority of the teachers, the international orientation, perceived as a characteristic of the program by the Central Office administrators, eluded them. With the exception of the previous teacher, most could not see how it would relate to their specific field of study. The few who were trying to find some meaning in this aspect of the program found it elusive. Remarked one of the planning teachers:

> "Some of our students are desperately trying to fit into the North American pattern, and they would be embarrassed about their own peculiar cultural background. Maybe the IB, if we really encourage the international dimension, will free some of these students to feel good about their own background. They'll be able to

communicate and portray their value system. My experience here, so far, is that they are very hesitant to share, and on the whole, apologetic."

Summary of Perceptions of the Worth of IBP

Concerned with the encyclopedic tendencies of European pre-university programs, the developers sought to offer the opportunity for students to experience diverse modes of consciousness, the emphasis being on learning "how to learn" rather than on "what to learn." The IB was to be considered as a total educational program, offering the student choice in fields of study, yet integrated in the common goal of interpretation and reflection in ways of knowing. Acceptance of the IB Diploma as an entrance qualification to many universities around the world permitted its adoption by the larger international private schools.

Examination of IB syllabuses by Edmonton Public School staff suggested that it would be possible to offer the full diploma program if six specific subjects were selected. Edmonton administrators looked upon the IBP as a bonus offering for more able students: the IBP promised to provide enrichment for the core subjects. In addition, successful students would acquire the prestigious IB Diploma, a symbol of international education.

Teachers viewed the program as an intellectual challenge, but with a rather heavy emphasis on "what to learn." As planning proceeded, teachers expressed concern that students wouldn't have time for extra-curricular activities, or for the timetabled optional courses. It also

appeared that the Theory of Knowledge course was viewed as an unwanted component, as were the CASS requirements.

Views of Knowing and Learning

DEVELOPERS

In 1968, two years after his appointment as Director of the IBO, Mr. Peterson published his book "The Future of Education" in which he describes a pattern of formal education which he considers appropriate for a rapidly changing, technological society. He expresses concern for the tendency to neglect ways of knowing which are not strictly technical or vocational. Making the assumption that the vast majority of men and women find satisfaction in the capacity to participate in meeting the needs of the society of which they are members (1968 : 4), he urges us to reflect on the modes in which we interpret our world and subsequently act on it. He adds, somewhat cryptically, that this should possibly be expressed "as followers of Marx or Dewey might say, to modify and so to interpret it"[1] (1968 : 6). Peterson attempts to stress that learning involves an interaction between the mind and reality, and that it is the task of formal education to provide for a series of encounters which stimulate intellectual growth. Although Peterson adds his comment about "modifying and thus interpreting" the world, he declines to expand on the possibilities for reconstructing our reality following our encounters in the world. In a program of studies this would involve a critical appraisal, not only of the intellectual processes directing our actions, but also the social and political processes. He questions whether the development of what he calls a "moral sensitivity" without the accompanying habit of moral action is desirable, or whether the

refining of moral sensitivity inevitably leads to more moral action. For Peterson, the relationship between awareness and action is a dilemma in education. Making the distinction between formal education, as the controlled experience of the student in the classroom, and total education, which is an individual's total experience, Peterson suggests that formal education has traditionally given priority to awareness, with very tenuous links to the world of action. Claiming that in the classroom, "action matters more than awareness and is not necessarily dependent upon it in its most conscious form; second, that action may sometimes be a way of developing awareness" (1968 : 7), Peterson urges a much closer connection between formal and total education.

Resting on the assumption that it is possible to develop the capacity to think or feel in certain modes by exercising the mind in some field of study which specifically demands that mode (1968 : 28), Peterson envisages a formal education as offering the individual the opportunity to broaden his capacity for participation, for personal judgement, for choice, and for enjoyment (p. 25). Ideally, he says, we should be thinking "in terms of a liberating, rather than a liberal education" (p. 5) so that individuals may act on their reconstructed reality.

Although he acknowledges that there are an infinite number of interpretive modes, Peterson suggests that from the point of view of practising education, five categories be identified: relational thinking, social-empirical thinking, scientific-empirical thinking, moral judgement and aesthetic appreciation. These categories contribute to the pattern which structures the IBP. Rational or analytic thinking, which involves making and manipulating connections among symbols, is encouraged in the study of mathematics; social-empirical thinking

entails the observation and interpretation of human events. Peterson distinguishes between social-empirical and scientific-empirical thinking on the basis of differences in methodologies. Admitting that the distinction is not entirely valid in terms of the disciplines themselves (1972 : 39), he claims that the methodological distinction is justifiable for the level at which the disciplines are practised at school. Essentially, the experimental sciences are seen to be characterized by the technique of the controlled experiment, resulting in certainty and objectivity. On the other hand, Peterson associates a certain subjective element which he calls "intuitive sympathy" with social-empirical thinking, an element which recurs in moral judgement and aesthetic appreciation.

The pattern of the IBP ensures that students will pursue some study in the fields of mathematics, the social sciences, and the experimental sciences. In addition, the study of world literature will contribute to the moral and aesthetic modes of interpretation. Since the original plan for the IBP was to provide a program of studies for international schools, the study of a second language, as a means of expressing the culture of other peoples, is an important component. Throughout the program the emphasis is on development of the powers of the mind or ways of thinking, rather than the absorption and regurgitation either of facts or of predigested interpretations of facts (Peterson, 1972 : 40), what Freire terms the "banking" concept of educating.

A unique feature of the IBP is the Theory of Knowledge course, which offers the opportunity for students (and teachers) to reflect upon "the truth, criteria, values and interrelations of the 'subjects' being studied" (IBNA, 1981).

It was never intended that the Theory of Knowledge course be a course in philosophy. Peterson was concerned that many pre-university students had never considered such things as the differences between a "proof" in mathematics, in physics, and in sociology. He was concerned that students might spend two years studying history, but not come to know what it means to think historically about his own situation. The original planning for IBP associated the study of knowledge within the Study of Man group, in much the same way as World Literature is associated with Language A, the first language of the student. Leach, a teacher who participated in the early planning of the IBP describes the Study of Knowledge as "an epistemological guide to the whole configuration of the baccalaureate" (1969 : 99). The concepts to be discussed in the early program, with the hope of illuminating how we come to know, included mathematical logic, scientific measurement, historical theory, I-Thou relationships, ethics, aesthetics, and metaphysics. Those suggested in the current program are detailed in Appendix C.

Probably the current title for this fundamental component of the IBP is unfortunate in that it suggests specific limitations. First, the use of the word "theory" may suggest abstract formulations removed from the world of experience. Second, use of theory in the singular may suggest that there is a single formulation for explaining how we arrive at knowledge. And third, use of "theory" may suggest that knowledge is an objective entity, external to the knower, as postulated by Hirst and his followers. For Hirst (1969), knowledge is acquired by learning many different concepts which function as tools for discriminating varying aspects of our experience. Understanding is a consequence of the efficient use of mind as a categorical and conceptual apparatus. There is an uncanny resemblance to Hirst's view of knowledge in the

description of the Theory of Knowledge course provided by the General Guide (1977 : 31): "Every effort should be made, relative to their level of comprehension and experience, to train students' understanding of these concepts which may be used as intellectual tools."

And yet one questions that this is the view of knowledge envisaged by Peterson and his colleagues. In the preface to the Teachers' Guide to Theory of Knowledge and Philosophy, Mme. Dreyfus (1972) suggests that students and teachers begin with their own interests and happenings, that is, their subjective experiences, in an examination of the underlying ideas. This examination may result, or it may not, in a revision of the way we "know" something. The course was not conceived of as a production of intellectual tools, but as a study of the nature of experience in social, intellectual and aesthetic pursuits, and in the act of making knowledge problematic. In seeking to delve into the mysteries of knowledge, students will reflect on the fundamental nature of history, mathematics, and experimental sciences with particular reference to their own experiences in these fields. The success of the course lies in the meanings which students construct for themselves, and not on the acquisition of imposed interpretations.

In his exposition of human existence as consisting of distinct patterns of meaning, Phenix postulates that general education is the "process of engendering essential meanings" (1964 : 5). However, like Hirst, Phenix regards the task confronting all humans to be that of comprehending experience in a detached objective world. "The nature of things is given, not chosen, and if man is to gain insight he must employ the right concepts and methods" (Phenix, 1962 : 280). In similar fashion, Mme. Dreyfus sees the act of reflecting on the problem of knowing as providing the "only true link" between the disciplines, in

that it leads "from the subjective to the objective, from the particular to the universal, from opinion to knowledge" (p. 2).

And so it would seem that the developers of the Theory of Knowledge course (not necessarily Peterson) adopted an essentially absolutist stance towards the nature of knowledge, somewhat in contradiction to the concept of modifying and then interpreting the world: that is, "the possibility of the act of knowing through praxis by which man transforms reality: (Freire, 1970 : 206). Current writing in the IBO has continued to neglect more relativistic epistemological stances which would have supported Peterson's emancipatory hopes for education. Such stances would link rather than separate knowledge from social action.[2] It would be necessary to consider several alternative theories of knowledge, such as the social basis of knowledge, and the modes of legitimation of knowledge (Young, 1971; 1973).

Dreyfus (1972) suggests that students encounter the writings of philosophers who think rigorously, and from whom they may learn how to approach a specific problem. She goes on, "It would be the same for a doctor or physicist. He not only may, but should concern himself with the moral and political implications of his profession. He does this, nevertheless, from an objectively and scientifically considered basis. Such exploration of the wider implications of a discipline must be based on rigorous thought, otherwise subjectivity is sure to result, which in turn leads to intolerance." This, and other statements in the Teachers' Guide suggest that Freire's (1973 : 213) notion of "an indispensible unity between subjectivity and objectivity in the act of knowing" is not entertained by the developers of the IB Theory of Knowledge course.

I have attempted to illustrate that although Peterson wrote about an ideal education which would be liberating, and although the IBP adopted, as a motto, the goal of "development of all the main powers

of the mind through which man interprets, modifies, and enjoys his environment", the view of knowledge which is presented in documents, particularly those dealing with the Theory of Knowledge, is significantly limited.

ADMINISTRATORS

Central Office administrators, with one or two notable exceptions, rarely spoke of knowing or learning. They were much more concerned with challenge, performance, and achievement. These administrators have accepted the premises of the Board (Trustee Sub-Committee, January 13, 1982), which define education as "synonymous with the development, the growth and the instilling of a feeling of self-worth on the part of the student." To this end, "all programs must focus on directing the student to attain rationality, self-discipline and personal confidence to take charge of his life." The assumption is that the student has certain psychological needs which must be satisfied. The ongoing realization of an individual's potential is likely to result in sustaining the motivation to continue the developmental process (Maslow, 1962). However, the premises from which the Edmonton Board draws direction are not entirely focused on the individual, for it is stated that "the potential of each student must be cultivated for the common good of the student and society." In addition, it is assumed that "the task of education is to transmit knowledge. Without it, no society can maintain itself." The assumption here is that a consensus exists as to what the "common good" actually consists of. Likewise, that a consensus exists which legitimates the maintenance of society as it is, i.e. a legitimation of the status quo. Programs provided in the schools will have the stated goal of encouraging student potential insofar as that

potential contributes to the maintenance of the status quo. And in so doing, the Edmonton Public School programs contribute to educational experience, the aim of which, according to provincial statute, is "to develop the abilities of the individual in order that he may fulfill his personal aspirations while making a positive contribution to society" (Alberta Education, 1978).

TEACHERS

The dominant practice in many Edmonton high schools suggests that, in accordance with the premise of the Board, the task is to transmit information. Guides issued by Alberta Education provide a detailed description of the contents prescribed for each course. Assessment of the transmission process occurs frequently throughout the course, by way of objective tests. Interpretive assignments, in which the student must draw upon his own experience are rare, for these are particularly difficult to grade. Low priority is given to written communications, and recognition of this has given rise to considerable concern among the IBP teachers, who have identified this capacity to communicate as being a top priority in the IBP.

The rationale for frequent testing in Edmonton schools is that student performance should not be evaluated on the basis of the capacity to memorize, but on the capacity to recognize and apply the principles involved. Therefore, the policy of evaluating student achievement at the termination of the IBP also is a source of considerable alarm.

SUMMARY OF PERCEIVED VIEWS OF KNOWING AND LEARNING

Peterson suggested that education be a liberating process, in which individuals are offered the opportunity to extend their capacities for participation, judgement, choice and enjoyment by developing their powers of the mind. The conception of a course in which students begin to make sense of the ways in which they know their world is a unique contribution to a secondary school program.

However, the translation of Peterson's ideal into printed curriculum guides which delineate the "content" of the IBP does not appear to have assisted in an appreciation of how students may learn to learn.

Some of the Teachers' Guides published by the IBO indicate that Peterson's colleagues are reluctant to move beyond the empirical-analytic knowledge of traditional curricula: an example is in the Theory of Knowledge course, in which teachers are urged to make every effort "to train students' understanding of those concepts" (IBO, 1977 : 31). "The reflection to which the Theory of Knowledge course gives rise will bring [the student] to a conscious awareness of intellectual honesty .... He will realize that opinions and beliefs are not the equivalent of knowledge and that judgements which are not based on facts are without value" (Renaud, 1974 : 36). In contrast, there are only occasional indications that an interpretive or critical stance may be appropriate for the program, stemming from philosophies of knowledge rooted in paradigms other than the dominant scientific one.

The Edmonton Trustees and administrators attach high priority to the efficiency and effectiveness of the educational system. Consequently, they are concerned with the management of specified

measurement of learning outcomes. Within this framework, knowledge is transmitted from teacher to student, knowledge is "banked" as an objective commodity: there is little room for interpretive or critical activities.

The taken-for-granted necessity for quantification of student achievement has resulted in frequent multiple-choice or short-answer testing by teachers in the Edmonton schools. The accounting system of marks reduces the contribution to course grade of a course final examination to little more than that of a unit exam (unlike the IBP where the papers written in the final examination are the only source of assessment for subject grade). Teachers distinguish between information that students may be "held responsible for", i.e. may be tested on, and information that is offered "for interest's-sake." Since teachers find it difficult to assess objectively the more interpretive communications of students, either written or spoken, these activities are frequently reduced to a minimum. Since the activities suggested by a Theory of Knowledge course fall within this latter category, most of the planning teachers were reluctant to become involved in it.

Views of Students and Teachers

DEVELOPERS

Peterson identified five qualities which he expected to be present and developing in the IB students, and without which the pursuit of higher eduction "is a dreary waste of time", (1972 : 34). Potential scholars should, he suggests, possess a capacity for conceptualization and analysis; a memory good enough to enable a student to hold a number

of facts or concepts in the mind simultaneously; an unslaked curiosity; a capacity for recognizing, and in rare cases, formulating new interpretations of available information; and a commitment to the intellectual formulation and solution of problems. It is probably significant, in the light of the previous discussion on the developers' views of knowledge, that all of the desirable characteristics listed above are those related to the acquisition of intellectual tools. Notably absent from the list are attributes associated with the capacity for communication, or with the commitment to improve the world.

Peterson and his colleagues worked on the assumption that most students would have come to a decision on the field of study to be undertaken at University prior to commencing the two year program. The selection of three subjects for study at the Higher Level would therefore be guided by the students' interests and/or specialized requirements of various university faculties. It was certainly the intent of the developers that candidates for the IB Diploma would have the opportunity to make a selection of courses within the program.

Robert Leach was a teacher at the International School in Geneva, and associated with the IBP from its earliest days. He has written about being a teacher in such a program, and described resisting the temptation to instruct (1969 : 203), the possibility of dialogue (1972 : 15) and the questioning of every accepted view (1972 : 16). At no time does he suggest that the teacher be regarded as expert, but rather as co-learner in a joint venture. However, the developers of the IBP are confronted by the dilemma of attempting to offer a general program of studies which avoids encyclopedism while simultaneously exercising control of the program by means of external assessment of student performance. The language used in both the general guide and

Teachers' Guides published by the IBO indicates that students are regarded as objects of the program; they are individuals who are "being trained", "being instilled with", "being prepared for", or "being inculcated with", and so on. The implication is that the program has the capacity to set specified goals for these students.

ADMINISTRATORS

Since implementation of the IBP in the Edmonton public school system has been viewed primarily as providing additional intellectual challenge for those students who are not stimulated to attain their potential in the regular courses of studies, Central Office administrators have recommended that a selection process of Grade 9 students be based on high academic achievement in the junior high school. A Grade 9 average of not less than 75%, with no mark below 65% and a recommendation from the teachers, were suggested as criteria for entrance into the program.

One administrator told me that he views the students entering IBP as the 'potential leaders' of the community. They would be the bright, highly-motivated, ambitious individuals who enjoy achieving at a high level.

In the eyes of a majority of the administrators, both Central Office and school, the teachers are perceived as being the classroom "experts." They are the propagators of the means whereby the stated ends of the program are attained: they are in possession of the practical knowledge which will enable them to guide students to pre-specified levels of performance. If, as suggested by a senior

administrator, student achievement is to be used as one criterion of successful implementation of the program, the teachers become the primary mediators between a group of external, international examiners, and a group of senior high school students.

TEACHERS

The participating teachers in this planning for the IBP describe the students whom they would select as candidates as those who excel in the regular courses without effort. Because they view the IBP as a much heavier study load, the teachers are concerned that students who are diligent and studious in Grade 9 will enter the IBP and be swamped with an information overload. The teachers anticipate that successful IB students will be able to go beyond the mere acquisition of information, to an organization and analysis of it. However, in view of the administration's view of examination performance as a criterion of success, many of the teachers felt that the whole exercise is a "gamble", primarily on the brilliance of the students.

There is no question that the IB students in Edmonton will be expected to make a commitment to an intensive program of academic study at a much earlier age than has been the case in the majority of the international schools. In Europe, students in the last two years of secondary education are frequently seventeen or eighteen years of age. Canadian scholarship students entering the IBP offered by the United World Colleges do so in Grade XII. However, because the Edmonton administrators consider the writing skills of a majority of Edmonton students to be somewhat deficient for successful performance in the IB examinations, implementation of the two-year program is to be stretched

to three years. The additional year will allow for accommodation of additional courses, and presumably, improvement of the required communication skills. This extension of a two-year program calls for the decision to enter the IBP to be made by Grade 9 students, many of whom have neither the maturity nor the experience to know whether they are suited to such a program.

On a number of occasions, it was apparent that the teachers felt considerable doubt about their capacities to develop an adequate framework for examination success with the first group of students in the program. As one teacher remarked, "It will be nearly four years before we get any feedback on whether what we're doing now is the right direction."

Following the Denver workshop for newly affiliated IB schools, attended by all the participating Edmonton teachers (See Appendix D), a History teacher wrote, "We were unable to obtain any direction on references or materials from those present. It is going to be essential to visit one of the core schools to find out what is going on .... The interpretations of the questions on the IB exams is far beyond anything attempted here. The theory of examinations has been carried to a perfection we would find extremely fine .... As the system now stands, with our best efforts - including generous time and financial support - we can expect only moderate student success."

A second teacher voiced concerns about the likelihood of success with relatively large classes in a program which has been conducted on a tutorial basis in many private schools: "I am going to have to cope with two classes (forty students in all) of whom maybe fifteen are of the calibre or temperament to be successful."

SUMMARY OF PERCEIVED VIEWS OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

The developers and planners for the implementation of the IBP in Edmonton are unanimous in their view of full Diploma program being appropriate for "the intellectually gifted and academically motivated minority" (Peterson, 1977 : 39). Edmonton teachers expressed the opinion that an ideal IB student would be one who succeeds **without** striving in the provincial program. They anticipate that many hard-working and conscientious students will be misplaced in the program, and some teachers have predicted a drop-out rate of 50% after the first year of the program.

Publications by the IBO reveal an inconsistent approach to being a teacher in the IBP. On the one hand, teachers are perceived as **providing** the student with a conceptual framework within which to operate (Peterson, 1972 : 44), and **transmitting** a specified body of factual information which may be used within the framework. On the other hand, the teachers' task in the IBP is seen as that of encouraging interaction such that students come to shape their knowledge within a self-constructed conceptual framework.

The Edmonton administrators identify the classroom teachers as the interpreters of the developers' curricula. They assume that the teachers will be able to recognize the conceptual frameworks employed by the external examiners, transmit to students the essential factual information, and practise with students the skills of written and oral communication, so that students may attain satisfactory levels of examination performance. In other words, the expectation of the administrators is that the teachers will acquire a perspective of the IBP which is very similar to that of the program developers.

The teachers' perspective of the IBP includes pragmatic consideration of the quality of the interactions considered essential for examination success. Limited preparation time and larger-than-ideal classes contribute to a considerable measure of anxiety, which is not diminished by the uncertainties of external assessment procedures. The impact of this anxiety on the planning activities and their perceptions of teaching in the IBP is considered in detail in the next chapter.

The Interests Served By The Planning

DEVELOPERS

Prior to Peterson's appointment as Director of the IBO in 1966, the organization had "staggered through a series of personnel crises, questionable financial allocations and unsatisfactory panel meetings, while the Council resisted any expansion of its membership which would diminish the influence of Geneva" (Mayer, 1968 : 225). The problems which confronted Peterson on his appointment as Director are closely associated with the social interests being served. He tabulated the problems as (1972 : 13):

(a) Could programmes be worked out which would suit the teaching needs and ideals of international schools and at the same time be acceptable to universities in many different countries?

(b) Could agreed methods of examining these programmes and internationally acceptable examiners be found?

(c) Supposing that these first two conditions were met, how could negotiations best be carried out to secure a guarantee of international recognition for the International Baccalaureate?

(d) Could enough schools of high standing be persuaded to abandon national examinations for the IB, in view of the known anxiety of parents about their childrens' chances of university entrance and their reluctance to see them involved in experiments?

(e) How was an International Baccalaureate to be financed?

For the next decade, Mr. Peterson became "a professional amateur" at the construction of a worldwide pattern of syllabuses and finding the necessary financing to see it through (Leach, 1969 : 123). A grant of $300,000 from the Ford Foundation in 1967 enabled Peterson to begin making arrangements for a policy conference at Sèvres, attended by representatives from ten invited nations, representatives of major funding foundations, the directors of major national examination boards, and representatives from several universities.

Influenced by two Ford Foundation consultants, Frank Bowles and Ralph Tyler, who stressed that the IBO project be seen not merely as an attempt to meet the problems of the international schools, but as "an opportunity for research in curriculum and examinations" (Peterson, 1972 : 14), Peterson presented to the Sèvres conference a proposal for a six-year experiment running from 1970-76. During this period, universities and national authorities would be requested to grant provisional recognition of the IB as an entry qualification to universities. Oxford representatives undertook to supervise a follow-up

study which would show how the graduates of international schools fared at university on the basis of the IBO program. Thus began the lengthy task of negotiating with individual institutions and national educational authorities for provisional recognition. The outcome was crucial to the continued existence of the IB after 1976, and Mr. Peterson and his colleagues relied on their personal contacts in the educational field to secure the necessary approval. Mr. Peterson spent the summer of 1967 teaching at the University of California at Berkeley, which provided him with the contacts he needed to persuade the American Colleges to consider the IBO Diploma as the equivalent of three passes at Advanced Placement.

The thrust to secure international recognition during the years 1970-76 was to be accompanied by a cluster of five investigations conducted by members of an Oxford IBO Research Centre (see Appendix E). The proposed inquiries dealt largely with cause-and-effect type of assessments within the unquestioned framework of existing educational institutions. The value judgements of IB contained within the proposals, such as "designed to ensure a general education" and "the best of national systems" reveal the biases of the researchers' which have been described by Mayer (1969 : 231) as "a disheartening lack of self-education."

Many of the more ambitious parts of the research proposals never came to fruition because the funds required to finance them were not forthcoming (Rémillard, 1978 : 11) and the Research Unit in Oxford was disbanded. The former director did compile statistical information published by the IBO each year in its Annual Bulletin from 1970, showing trends in the number of candidates, participating schools and subjects, dispersion of grades received in subjects, and the university acceptance

of IB graduates (Marjoribanks, 1976). Another member of the unit, funded by a grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation, investigated whether the IB programs did develop a wider interest and involvement in creative and aesthetic activity. More than 200 diploma candidates were interviewed in an attempt to reveal psychological characteristics, as well as gather biographical data (Hampton, 1976).

At this point, we now come to consider the intricate relations among the stakeholders in the IBP development. Beginning as an experimental effort to provide a common program of study in a limited number of international schools, the IBP now claims to be "Restoring a Challenge to Secondary Education" (IBO, 1977). From fulfilling the needs of families and teachers in a few international schools, the IBP now claims to offer a unique global perspective for senior secondary education. The reasons for this evolution are complex, and rooted in the social structures of the predominantly capitalist nations. Remillard (1978) has presented a forceful argument that in providing a program for the "intellectual elite", the IBP functions "as an agent in the institutionalization of authoritative frames of reference in an international setting" (p. 214). The presentation of the IBP as a program of intellectual rigor which offers the opportunity of credential and selection by way of a controlled standard of assessment is both dependent on, and supportive of the hierarchical organizations characteristic of Western nations. It is dependent on these centrally controlled organizations for recognition of the credential it provides as a passport for social mobility, and for the financial support which ensures its continued existence.

Since its inception, the IBO has received grants from a number of philanthropic foundations and multinational corporations, as well as

national governments and international organizations. In early 1976, a provisional plan was drawn up in which the purely independent foundation in Geneva would evolve into an intergovernmentally supported organization in close association with UNESCO (IBO, 1975 : 7). However, despite meetings with UNESCO representatives, the allocation of funds for IBO was not made in the UNESCO budget for the biennium 1977-78. The IBO thus faced a financial crisis at the meeting of its ten most committed schools' respresentatives in 1976.[3] It was apparent that a new system of financing the IBO was necessary. Any relationship between the financial crisis of the IBO in 1976 and the decision of IBO to go "public" can only be inferred. In 1976, there were 1600 candidates entered in the IB examinations, of whom all but 122 were enrolled in private schools. And of the 122 public school students, 112 attended school in England, and 10 in the eastern U.S.A. (IBO, 1976 : 22). One can speculate that when the funds from UNESCO were not forthcoming, the organizers of IBO shifted attention from the needs of developing countries to the needs of alternative supporters - the ambitious, intellectual elite in the public sector (Remillard, 1978 : 100). The initial grants from Twentieth Century Fund and the Ford Foundation were, to a certain extent, raised on the argument that an international syllabus and examination would be particularly useful to developing nations. An unanticipated resistance by the educational leaders in such countries to a selection system which would enable their able students to leave for European and American universities resulted in a singular lack of adoption of the IB in Third World countries (excepting private institutions) (Mayer, 1968 : 231). The characteristics of the IB which appeal to the ambitious intellectuals in the public sector (exclusiveness of IBO affiliation, and the controlled examination system) are the same elements of the program which UNESCO found unacceptable (Remillard, 1978 : 107).

At an intergovernmental conference on the IB in 1978, attended by representatives from thirty-two countries including Canada, a resolution designed to ensure that the IBO would have appropriate structure and financial backing for its activities was passed unanimously. Two years later, at the 6th IBO Consultative Conference held in Princeton, Mr. Peterson announced in his opening remarks that, "IBO was now at a crucial stage in its development .... One-third of the IBO's funds were obtained from governmental sources, but IBO was not a political organisation" (IBO, 1980 : 1). Throughout the development of the IBO, Mr. Peterson has taken pains to dissociate the organization from what he refers to as "political" affiliation[4], although it is never quite clear whether this is intended to signify merely national affiliation, or possibly, attachment to broader interests such as those embraced by the Western capitalist nations. When an organization is extensively supported by donations from multi-national corporations, many of whose employees are parents of IB students in international schools around the world (IBO, 1980 : 5), its political independence is questionable.[5]

The developers of the IBO have generated a set of examinations which satisfies a majority of university admissions committees, and which may advance the students' standing at certain institutions. In so doing, the IBO has contributed to legitimating the control of universities over the selection of knowledge in secondary schools. Not until ten years after the recognition of the IB Diploma as a university entrance qualification did the IBO appoint a Director of Programmes, whose specific responsibility was to oversee the development of syllabuses within the IBP (IBO, 1980 : 4).

CENTRAL OFFICE ADMINISTRATORS

In 1977, the Minister's Advisory Committee on Student Achievement, on examining the Alberta Grade 12 examinations, reported that the study "provides evidence of a loss of public confidence in the educational system over the past ten years" (p. 397). Senior administrators in the Edmonton school district were undoubtedly conscious of the provincial authorities' sympathies toward greater prescriptiveness of content and control of evaluation procedures; i.e., a standardization of educational activities.

The selection of a tightly controlled program such as the IBP, in which all of the activities are assessed, either directly or indirectly, by external examiners who establish an internationally "high" standard for performance, made sense to administrators whose task it is to secure provincial accreditation for the additional courses which will be incorporated into the Edmonton IBP.

If "success or failure [of schooling] is judged on how well the graduates of school, institutes of technologies or universities do in the world of direct employment" (Harder, 1977), it made sense to system administrators to offer their more able students an opportunity to obtain bonus credentials. Their assumption is that the "addition" of the IBP to the Alberta matriculation program is in the best interests of the gifted minority.

The administrators' interests in planning for successful implementation were predominantly those of management and control. A system plan mapped out the discrete tasks of various personnel, and a specific timeline was established for completion of these tasks (see Appendix F). Noteworthy is the key position occupied by the development of the Curriculum Guides upon which approval from Alberta Education and

the universities of Alberta depend. This important function of the Curriculum Guides was not made explicit to the teachers, as will be discussed in a later section.

The system plan represents an attempt to ensure that a program of studies, the IBP, is installed efficiently. It is a linear, one-way process encompassing the means to achieve specified ends.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

Since the 1970's, the Edmonton public school district has maintained a policy of open boundary attendance at its senior high schools. Students are free to attend any high school offering an appropriate and attractive program. At a time of falling enrollments and financial restraint, the high school administrators who were reluctant to risk the loss of their "academic" students to the IBP in other schools applied to offer the program themselves. Identification of the three schools approved to implement the IBP triggered a round of public relations in which the program was "sold" to its potential clientele. These activities included public meetings attended by the Director and students from Pearson College, press releases, television coverage, and recruiting sessions in Grade 9 classes. Anxious to preregister the minimum eighteen students in order to receive the go-ahead for implementation, each of the three schools mounted an extensive advertizing campaign. This was very successful in that a sufficient number of Grade 9 students pre-registered for the IBP to make possible the timetabling of two IBP classes in each school. Given that in 1980, the total number of examination candidates in North America in higher level English was 154, if all the Edmonton IBP students write the higher level English examination in 1984, the field will be almost doubled.

Summary of Interests Served by Planning for IBP

The propagation of an educational system professing to be a vehicle for international education required both personnel and funding. During his term as Director of the IBO, Peterson relied on an extensive network of personal contacts for both, as well as for obtaining recognition of the program by universities. IBO received initial grants from foundations supporting the concept of an "experiment" in international education, while UNESCO funded the organization for similar reasons, looking for development of a program that could be offered to Third World countries. Currently, the focus appears to have shifted from research and developing countries to the public sector of western countries, with governments and multinational corporations supplementing the affiliation fees paid by individual member schools.

The charge that the IBP serves as an agent of social control has not gone unheard by the IBO, whose Director-General noted: "We must also remember that the IB, as a university entrance qualification, adapted to the requirements of western countries, is perhaps not quite what is suitable for other countries, unless we restrict ourselves to serving only an elite group or the foreign population of these countries" (Renaud: IBO Ann. Bull. No. 18, Geneva, Dec. 1982). Edmonton trustees and administrators find themselves attempting to placate a vocal minority which calls for alternative programs catering to the academically able students. The concern which is articulated in terms of allowing all students to develop to their fullest potential may very well, when translated into implementation of the IB, contribute to the maintenance of a meritocratic ideology.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. For Marx, the dialectical relationship between humanity and nature is one in which humans, because they are not able to merely adapt to the material world, must creatively interact with their surroundings; they must change themselves through changing the world around them in a continual and reciprocal process (Giddens, 1976 : 100).

   For Dewey, knowing involved an active manipulation of the environment. His emphasis on the role of action in shaping knowledge achieved in scientific and moral inquiry became a characteristic of the progressive movement in education. He believed that "the self is not ready-made, but something in continuous formation through choice of action" (1916 : 408).

2. Ways of knowing are ultimately dependent on ways of viewing the relationships between man and the world. An orientation which separates man (as subject) from the world (as object) accepts reality as an objective entity, which may be known through acquisition of facts, laws, generalizations, and theories. When man (as subject) is viewed as interacting reciprocally with the world (as subject), reality is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), and comes to be known through the sharing of meanings by individuals during social exchanges. When man (as subject) not only interacts with the world but critically assesses the quality of that interaction, knowing is a critical engagement of man with his world.

3. In 1976, the ten most committed schools (IBO, 1976 : 22) were:

International School of Geneva
United Nations International School, New York
United World College of the Atlantic
Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific
Frankfurt International School
Iranzanian, Tehran International School
Lycée International de Saint-Germain
Ibadan International School
The British Schools, Montevideo
Copenhagen International School

4. Peterson (1977 : 40) describes the syllabus panels as being "not bound by diplomatic protocol", and thus their membership was free of political considerations.

5. In this respect, an article by Berman (1982) raises questions about the support of educational programs by Ford and Rockefeller Foundations (among others). Berman suggests that the foundations delegated many tasks to outside agencies to avoid any semblance of involvement, but essentially their programs were designed to serve the interests of the United States. The educational programs would contribute to controlled development in Third World nations by the creation of well-educated indigenous elites who opposed revolutionary change.

CHAPTER IV

THE TEACHERS' INTERESTS IN PLANNING FOR THE IBP

Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the teachers' perceived interests in planning for the implementation of the IBP in Edmonton schools. In the previous chapter, I examined the perspectives from which the teachers' interests emerge, and now I turn to the manifestation of these interests in the planning of a program for their schools. I suggested in Chapter II that certain orientations to program planning are characterized in part by the nature of the interests guiding the activities of the planners. Thus a view of program planning as that of preparing for installation of a program in a school is characterized by technical interests, whereas a view of program planning as an interpretative act reflects interests in the sharing of meanings and understandings by participants in the specific situation. A third possible orientation to program planning involves a commitment to uncover the underlying assumptions of a program, and the relationships of these to the broader context of the social world.

The observations made in this chapter refer to the activities and communications of the Biology teachers, unless reference is made otherwise.

The Technical Interests of Planning

CURRICULUM AS CONTENT

The Biology teachers told me that they did not consider their task to be one of **developing** a curriculum; rather, they saw their task to be that of **amalgamating** the curricula of two established programs in Biology. Viewing the curricula primarily in terms of content, the short-term goal of the planning was the production of documents delineating the scope and sequence of topics to be presented in the classroom. The major problem was that of fitting all the pieces together into the time allocated for the courses. The long-range goal for the planning activities is the presentation to students of a series of courses in Biology which will enable the students to perform successfully in both the IB and Alberta Education examinations. Without exception, teachers in other subject areas identified similar viewpoints. As one teacher remarked, "We have a vague notion that we should start with objectives, but our instinct is to look at the 'end-product', so to speak; the student who will be able to pass the Diploma examinations in three years' time, and also acquit himself well in the provincial assessment."

The teachers began the first of their fifteen daily sessions with a comparison of the content prescribed in the Alberta Education course outlines and that suggested in the syllabus of the IB Biology. Also at hand was the Biology course outline taught at the United Nations International School (UNIS) in New York. A process of dovetailing topics identified in these three outlines thus began:

T_1: "What I did was go through their thing [IB syllabus] and try to follow ours as well. You won't find things in exactly the same spot, so I moved things around. Do you want to write out what I have, and then we can add to it, or change it, and see if it's at all feasible?"

T_2: "Yes, we might as well start from somewhere."

At the conclusion of the first full week of discussions, the teachers had sketched out the sequence of topics to be presented in four sequential Biology courses. The additional course[1] was considered a necessary inclusion for the IBP since the teachers judged that the higher level IB Biology course required a more extensive treatment of much of the content. In their comparative analysis of Alberta and IB courses, the teachers identified four features of the IB courses requiring more information than that provided in provincial courses: these were

(i) inclusion of considerably more representation of the phyla for direct classroom study
(ii) an increased depth of coverage for each phylum studied
(iii) inclusion of a greater amount of historical material
(iv) considerably more biochemistry.

When the teachers returned for their second week of discussions, they brought with them an array of university Biology textbooks, which served as the primary resource for "packing the details" of the course outlines.

In the following illustration, the teachers are considering answers to the question "What is life?" by referring to the textbooks at hand.

T_1: "Now this one; she gives a bunch of points, and this guy doesn't. He just talks about growth, reproduction, metabolism, and ...."

T_2: "That's the Wilson text?"

T_1: "Which is different from this one, which gives a whole long list of items of living things. She gives eight living systems."

T_2: "Which one is that? Oh, that's the Curtis book?"

T_1: "Yes. I can see a guy using this one, and that one, and that one; all three of those, and coming up with a pretty good idea."

CURRICULUM AS DOCUMENT

At the beginning of their planning sessions, the Biology teachers (and teachers in other subject areas) had not fully appreciated that their deliberations were not only to be directed toward preparing themselves for participating in the IBP, but also toward the preparation of documents which would inform provincial and university officials of the scope and depth of the program, as well as guiding other teachers entering the program. As far as the teachers were concerned, these two functions were sufficiently disparate to call for two sets of documents in the Biology and English committees; one for "them" and one for "ourselves."

In Biology, the official document produced by the Biology committee consists of four course outlines delineating the topics to be included within major conceptual units, and presented in a style very similar to that used in Alberta Education documents. The derivation of the introductory paragraph for this document reveals the concern of the teachers for the appearance of the product of their discussions, and the

singular lack of concern for its process. When the initial sequencing of the content for the four courses had been completed, the following discussion ensued:

T_1: "We don't want to put aims down, do we?"

T_2: "No, I'd go with an introductory paragraph."

T_3: "That should cover all three of them?"

T_2: "No, one for each."

T_1: "Do we want to mention what we're going to talk about?"

T_2: "No, what you do is talk about the intent, not what you're going to do. I hesitate to call them aims and goals, or goal statements. The only reason I even use those terms is because it's what the people downtown want."

As the discussion continued, it became obvious that two of the teachers had come to regard the series of courses as a complete unit, and wished to make a statement which would be applicable to the whole of IB Biology.

"If we're not going to do Aims or Behavioral Objectives, do we have to do covering statements for each course? Or can we make a series of statements covering the whole IB Biology? Because our concepts of historical development, and social implications are throughout. And our stress on biological fact, knowledge, hypotheses, and statements on scientific method are throughout."

And so the documentation of the IB Biology program in Edmonton is headed by a paragraph stating that "Higher Level Biology is one of the experimental sciences of the International Baccalaureate Program offered by the Edmonton Public School Board. The major topics, evolution, diversity, ecology and physiology, are approached by incorporating a variety of methods including the scientific method and discussion of social implications and historical developments. The IB courses meet

the requirements of the present Biology 10, Biology 20 and Biology 30 programs and offer enrichment materials to meet the Higher Level Biology IB curriculum."

The unofficial document is a compilation of the notes taken during the planning sessions, and includes specific references to original papers, textbooks, and magazines. It offers a reminder to the committee participants of their discussions about the details of depth and scope of the topics to be considered in the classroom.[2]

CURRICULUM AS TIME

A dominant concern of the teachers throughout their planning sessions was the time they had available for "covering" the content of the courses. Again and again, the discussion returned to how to fit the content of the courses into a specified number of lessons:

> "It would help me if we could start looking in terms of time; I'm not sure what length of time we're looking at, how many lessons?"

and

> "You really can't squeeze in any extra topics because it's [Biology 10 curriculum] already a loaded course; it's too long already."

The offer of an additional Biology course within the Edmonton IBP had been made by Central Office administrators on the premise that students would need the time for additional written and experimental work. In February, 1981, the Director of Curriculum Development asked

the teachers whether it would be possible for them to proceed without the additional course. After two weeks of planning sessions, the teachers were unanimous in their perceived need for the additional course: they defended their position by citing specific aspects of the courses not detailed in the provincial program.

> "The section on Origin of Life demands an additional six hours; and so does the section dealing with the historical developments in classification. And the bulk of Biology 15 [the additional course] is taken up with detail of the Biological Kingdoms - maybe an extra 30 hours."

Their technical interest in regulating the progress of the program in terms of the allocation of time for units of work makes possible the conceptualization of the curriculum as the span of time preceding the terminal examination. For instance:

T_3: "If they [the students] have to remember all this from Grade X to the exam, they're going to have to remember three year's work."

T_2: "That's a characteristic of the program."

Moreover, the curriculum is conceived as a span of time which limits the amount of information which may be dispensed and stored.

CURRICULUM AND CONTROL

Early in the first working session of the Biology committee, it became apparent that the teachers were not only taking for granted the dimensions of control exerted in the institutional context of the

system, but they were interested in adding an internal measure of control in the form of an approach "common" to their three Biology programs. This is illustrated in the following remarks:

> "I don't know how you feel about it, but I would like to parallel what's going on in our school IB with IB in other parts of the city. From what I can gather, that would be unique. Any IB going on in the States near somewhere else doing IB is doing something different; using different texts, references, etc."

and

T_3: "Are we going to have common exams?"

T_2: "I wouldn't mind."

T_3: "Then we'll have to have common examples won't we?"

T_1: "I don't think it makes that much difference."

The desire to spell out, at least for the three participants, the detail of depth and time for each section of the content, may be a reflection of the implicit wish to "possess" a common program. Thus the course outline was considered relatively useless insofar as guidance for the classroom was concerned:

T_3: "Personally, I think this is a pretty poor course outline. If you turned this loose on the province of Alberta, there'd be a diversity of courses. What are you supposed to teach?"

T_2: "We keep making the assumption that people out in the field are competent."

T_3: "No; we're not assuming they're incompetent by spelling things out for them."

T_1: "Sure we are."

T_3: "I don't think so; we're not telling them they don't know it by spelling it out. We're telling them that this is what this course stands for."

The teacher who wants the course "spelled out" is demonstrating a technical interest in standardizing what to him is **the** Biology program. He would like to be able to know, with certainty, the exact limits of the program, both for himself and for others. That these teachers would entertain further restrictions on their definition of the program, in addition to those imposed by the necessity to satisfy two sets of external criteria, suggests that for them, in a somewhat threatening situation, there is reassurance that they will be attempting to follow similar patterns of activities in their classroom. Explicitly to safeguard his position, one of the teachers described how he intended to divide the content of the courses into "learning packages" for the students. These will include objectives, learning activities, and information supplementary to the textbook, such that the student will be able to "see **what** he's got to learn, and **how** he's going to learn it .... And at the end of his IBP, he'll have four sets of learning packages spelling out all the objectives."

In designing the sequence of the four courses, the Biology teachers were very much aware that there would be an institutional demand for student movement between IB and provincial courses. This necessitated adhering closely to the Alberta Education content of Biology 10, 20 and 30 courses, enriching with supplementary material where appropriate, and presenting much of the additional laboratory work in an additional course. This then made it possible to state that "the courses here have been so designed to make it possible for students to leave the IB program without jeopardizing their standing in currently authorized Alberta Education programs."

In summary, the discussions of the Biology teachers revealed the following technical interests in planning for program implementation:

(a) amalgamation of content from existing IB and Alberta Education course outlines,

(b) delineation of the scope and sequence of the content of the curriculum to be identified as IB Biology,

(c) production of a "teacher guide package" for Central Office,

(d) internal control via a "common" program in Edmonton schools,

(e) facilitation of student transfer and course accreditation.

All of the above suggest that planning may be viewed as an act of characterizing a program of studies in sufficient detail that the process of implementation becomes amenable to efficient direction and control.

The Interpretive Interests of Planning

In planning for program implementation, there are a number of possibilities for participant interpretation. If fidelity of implementation is a priority, as it surely must be in situations in which students' achievement is subject to external assessment, the program of studies requires interpretation, because "it encapsulates the meanings (intents, motives, plans and outlooks) of one group (the program developers) which another group (teachers, students, parents) attempts to grasp" (Werner, 1976 : 205). However, even in a group of teachers actively engaged in a common task, it is necessary to explicate the meanings which they have individually constructed, in order that there may be a sharing of views. So planning for program implementation may require not only interpretive exploration of the developers' meanings for the program, but also those of participant planners. Another aspect of interpretive understanding is that which deals with

the direct interaction between the program and an involved participant. As the individual planner delves into the complexities of the program, he becomes, as it were, a part of the program. No longer is the planner acting on an object, the program, but there is a reciprocal interaction between two subjects, the program and the planner. Over a period of time, both program and planner are changing, and neither is ever complete.

Consistent with their identification of the teachers as interpreters of the developers' curricula (see p. 68), Edmonton administrators arranged for all the teachers participating in the IB planning to attend a workshop (Denver, October 1980) organized by IBNA for staff of newly affiliated schools. This was the first opportunity for most of the teachers to consider the possible meaning of the IBP for themselves in the classroom. About a month later (November, 1980), the Biology teachers met with Central Office staff to discuss the planning activities for the remainder of the school year (i.e., up to June, 1981).

In order to focus my discussion of the teachers' interpretive activities, I have selected three aspects of the Biology curriculum which were recognized by the committee members as being of considerable significance to the IBP developers. These are:

(a) that Biology is one of the experimental sciences in the International Baccalaureate;

(b) that Biology affords the opportunity to develop an appreciation of the nature of scientific knowledge; and

(c) that Biology offers the opportunity to consider the relationships between science and society.

BIOLOGY AS AN EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE

The characterization of Biology as an experimental science did not appear to catch the imagination of the Edmonton planners; nor did the difficulties of biological investigations, as compared to physical or chemical inquiries, seem to surface as a problem. The General Guide to the IB (3rd edition, p. 78) states that "the emphasis in all [experimental science] courses is on providing students with ample opportunities for search and discovery, for it is through personal experience in the scientific method that students best develop an understanding of it." The teachers dealt with the laboratory exercises for the program after they had worked through the detailed sequence of content for all four courses. Assembling an assorted variety of laboratory manuals and textbooks around them, they compiled a list of specimens to be observed under the microscope or dissected and an accompanying list of references for teacher guidance. However, there was some uneasiness about these traditional exercises: one teacher commented that he was not looking forward to teaching them. Another teacher responded that "students need practice observing, seeing significant differences on their own." What this teacher did not explore was how students can be expected to "see on their own" when they have been exposed to a theoretical presentation of what they "should" see prior to the exercise. Describing his approach to the ultrastructure of cells, another teacher stated:

> "I usually go through and list all the parts, mentioning in general what they do. It's fixing everything in place in the cell and what the functions are. Then I go back and look at them in detail so that when you start talking about a ribosome, students can say 'Oh yes, that's the thing that looked like buckshot inside the cell', and they've got some kind of a generalized picture."

Significantly, for teachers who must attempt to move from the world of the electron microscope to that of the global biosphere in one program,

it is sometimes difficult to appreciate what and how students "see" the objects of study. The majority of students will probably never "see" ribosomes with the aid of an electron microscope; and when they are provided with a textbook electron micrograph, it seems perfectly reasonable to relate what they see as solid scattered specks to something in their own experience. And when the students focus on their self-prepared wet mounts of cheek cells, is it surprising that the multitude of black specks which they "see" are identified as ribosomes?

Further uneasiness with the practical exercises was voiced with regard to the inquiries considered suitable for Grade XII students. The following exchange illustrates the dissatisfaction felt by one of the teachers:

T_1: "I think the coagulation-type test is useful."

T_3: "Sure, to communicate denaturation."

T_1: "Sure, to explain exactly what happens."

T_2: "Now what you've got to do is ask yourself the question - 'why do the lab?' What is the lab supposed to do?"

T_1: "Well, we went over some of the things it's supposed to do. Demonstrate, for example, coagulation. Here I am trying to tell them that proteins lose their shape, become fibres."

and

T_2: "O.K., so you put an eggwhite onto either acid, or heavy metal, or you pass an electric current through it, and it goes white. That doesn't show you how a protein molecule changes shape."

T_1: "It sure gives you an idea."

T_2: "I disagree with that - I'm just thinking that all you're doing is making an eggwhite turn white. There's **nothing** at the molecular level. A kid wouldn't be able to sit down and start hypothesizing at the molecular level."

T_3: "Well, he's never seen a protein molecule and we're talking about shape to them. And we spend hours teaching them about amino acid arrangements and bonding. Why even do that? And it's all done with diagrams."

Much of contemporary biological study occurs in the ultrastructure of cells. It is not only difficult for students to envisage what is happening in terms of their own experience, but even more difficult for teachers to provide an opportunity for students to engage in activities which relate directly to the concepts being taught. What follows is an exchange between the teachers during their second planning week:

T_2: "You can't do modern labs in photosynthesis, they're too sophisticated. Radioactive tracers, and all that."

T_3: "Does it bother you that most of the labs you do in school are natural history?"

T_1: "There's nothing we can do about it, so it doesn't bother me."

T_2: "It bothers me."

T_1: "But what are you going to do about it?"

T_2: "What kinds of research labs can you do at the Grade X level, when they don't have any biological background?"

T_1: "It doesn't bother me not to do a lot of labs, because they're not true labs."

Perhaps this last comment is the key to the low priority assigned to the laboratory exercises: when the teachers pause to consider what they can accomplish in terms of inquiry into the unknown, the concept of "experimental" science is highly unsatisfactory. Because if "a lab to me is when a kid is testing something that is absolutely unknown" then "we don't have any." Part of the difficulty in viewing Biology as illustrative of an experimental science is the distinction which tends to be drawn between the categories of classroom activities identified as "theory" and "lab." As one teacher emphasized, "I go theory, lab, and back up theory." For teachers accustomed to regarding a course primarily as a body of information to be relayed to the students, it is

inevitable that priority is given to theory. One teacher contemplated an interpretive approach to classroom "experiments", doing them and asking "Why?" Previous experience of this had shown him that it takes much more time, necessitating "cutting it off" and "channelling the discussion." Pursuing the idea of providing for student experience, the technical interest in time intruded, yet revealing that some of the teachers' underlying inclinations were to encourage independent thinking, although another was skeptical:

T_2: "We could say, 'design a lab test for such and such'."

T_3: "There's only one thing wrong with it, - ."

T_1: "Time."

T_2 "That's the way I handled my project in Grade XII last year."

T_3: "What will they do? They'll go to a book of recipes, and they'll hand back to you what you don't want to hand to them. And all you've done is have them do the hunting instead of you. The end result is the same."

T_2: "But I think they feel a bit more in control of their activities; I think."

The concept of experimental, as involving students in the design of experiments, presents a major problem for school science teachers whose priority is to attend to a written theoretical examination at the end of the program.

BIOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD

That all IB candidates engage in some study in science is a stipulation proposed to ensure that students experience, and come to appreciate, the significance of controlled experimentation as a means of gathering data and reaching conclusions. The intent of the IB developers was that students would become familiar with the Scientific

Method, not only in the sense of acquiring manipulative skills, but also in the sense of critical analysis of experiments designed and performed by other investigators. The IBO Syllabus Guide for Higher Level Biology (Ed. Black, 1980) specifically states that experimental data supporting key theoretical models should be studied. These studies would lend themselves readily to reflection on the assumptions of the Scientific Method, and the nature of scientific knowledge in the Theory of Knowledge course, thus strengthening links with the entire IB program.

One of the Biology teachers admitted concern for these aspects of the program, but his attempts to initiate debate were generally pushed aside.

> "I don't think we have to approach the whole thing from the Scientific Method point of view. Somewhere in the IB course we have to introduce the kids to the Scientific Method. That's standard isn't it?"

In discussion of an optional unit on the Origin of Life, it was remarked:

> "I think this section could really lend itself to developing the concept of the Scientific Method: the significance of the observable in the phenomenon. Here we can't do that, and so we're on very thin ground when we get into this area."

Although there was no observable response to this from his colleagues, the unofficial description of their guide states:

> "... the 'Scientific Method' to be mentioned/stressed here: the fact that no two sources list the same precursors for organic molecules, thus some assumptions and imagination must be used."

The issues of experimental design and validation of results were readily submerged under the sea of names known only as historical development.

"Experimental support for the theory. Are we going to go into that? Arguments for and against replication?"

"That's getting pretty heavy."

"Let's just present the theory for how it works."

"That's the Watson-Crick theory, and omit ...."

"Well, are we going to do that Meselsohn-Stahl stuff, like they have here [textbook]? Remember how the strands went off ...?"

"Well, we can mention alternatives, but not in any detail."

It is as if the teachers, not being familiar with experimental details of these developments, are not able to pull out the issues of design, hypothesis, and test. Consequently in their planning, the blanket phase of historical development was applied, but never defined.

And so, although the official document produced by the Committee (and edited by Central Office) suggests that a key feature of the IB program is "an approach which is intended to promote an appreciation for the development of knowledge, preparing the student for a study of the Theory of Knowledge (p. 5), the planning participants expressed definite reservations about their preparedness for such activities."

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

On many occasions, it seemed that for these teachers, the incremental progress of science termed "historical development" was synonymous with the Scientific Method. Although they were anxious to stress that this progress had been dependent on the advance of

technology, they were not prepared to analyze the social or economic circumstances in which major breakthroughs occurred. And here I use the word "prepared" deliberately, because there were a number of indications that as individuals, these teachers were interested in discussing the nature of the progress of science, but they felt inadequate because of acknowledged gaps in their personal knowledge. For example:

T_1: "Schleiden and Schwann played such a small part in the whole picture."

T_3: "Is that right?"

T_1: "They just put it together."

T_3: "So is there any significance in mentioning these men?"

T_2: "I think so."

T_1: "Oh yes. I mention Virchow too, and point out that it was another 20 years before they came up with the preexisting cells bit. Although when they lay out all three parts of the Cell Theory, it looks as if it all happened at once. Actually, it's kind of neat."

T_2: "It's only neat if you have the background to reflect on it."

The social aspects of human activities labelled as science were similarly neglected. The derivation of the double helical model of DNA by Watson and Crick in the 1950's offers a splendid opportunity to encounter all the many aspects of scientific activities. Crick reflected on the "style" of the discovery in an article published in Nature in 1971, and Watson published a personal account of the exchanges among the scientists working on the problem. However, these references are not included in either the official or unofficial guides to the program, which suggests "historical development: Watson and Crick."

The General Guide to the IB (1977 : 150) states that "the study of biology is becoming increasingly significant with regard to contemporary issues which have hitherto belonged to the province of history, politics, and economics." For the teachers in the biology planning

committee, such issues are generally attended to in the context of "adding" interest to the theoretical concepts under consideration. The following remark typifies the approach: "I'd mention it more as an aside than anything else. I wouldn't go into it in depth." The interactions of man and world are not generally taken to be topics for serious reflection in provincial biology courses, unless a specific project is devoted to them, in which case, they are distinctly set apart from the core of the course. The following exchange among the teachers displays the difficulties they encountered in attempting to move beyond the traditional theoretical framework with which they were familiar.

T_1: "Do we want to say anything here about social ecology?"

T_3: "I think we should. What do you mean by social? Do you mean man, conservation, ...?"

T_1: "I'm thinking of growth problems, effects like in China. And aging problems, - the population is getting older."

T_3: "That would come into characteristics of a population."

T_1: "Yes, but I would like to relate it to humans only. Do you guys know what I'm saying? Because we've been talking about populations, but nowhere have we even mentioned about human growth."

T_3: "Human ecology."

T_2: "You don't want to deal **just** with human populations, do you?"

T_1: "Yes, I do. Yes."

T_2: "Growth of technology, and all that?"

T_3: "Shall we call it 'Human Impact'?"

T_2: "Impact on what?"

This discussion was not pursued any further, and the unofficial guide cites a few examples of man's interference in the natural patterns of ecosystems.[3]

PROGRAM-PLANNER INTERACTION

An early assessment of the overlap in content of the IB and Alberta Biology curricula indicated that there was an 80% correspondence between the two programs. At the Denver workshop, the message put across by the UNIS Biology teacher and the IBNA Chief Examiner in Biology was that the IBP is a total program, not a collection of discrete courses, and that the commitment by students and teachers must be to the totality of the IBP, rather than to individual courses, such as Biology. This was a "different picture" of the program for the Edmonton teachers, and one which was left behind in Denver, for the most part. This is not to suggest that there was no program-planner interaction, but the initial stirrings were restricted to those within the distinct disciplinary fields, rather than those within the program as a totality. For example, the Biology teachers acknowledged that the provincial courses tend to be treated as "isolated collections of facts", and they expressed the desire to provide some coherence to the IB material. It was evident in the planning sessions that the teachers were searching for themes which would serve as integrating links among the courses. They were also aware that, in the eyes of the program developers, the Theory of Knowledge occupied a cornerstone of the IBP. However, these interpretive exchanges did not progress during the planning year, due largely to the dominating technical concerns previously outlined.

In summary, it is probably fair to say that the prevailing interests of an interpretive nature were those in which the teachers reconstructed for their colleagues the classroom activities which they judged to be successful in terms of student interest and achievement. As the committee members grew more at ease with one another, an atmosphere of openness encouraged questioning in terms of "How would

you?", "Why do you" and What do you mean?", such that all were able to engage in a sharing of interpretations, and in the elaboration of a perspective for program implementation. Such a questioning of the developers' perspective was not pursued, and the teachers were either unaware or insensitive (or both) to the intent of the developers that students be provided with the opportunity to experience the characteristics of experimental science, and to relate these to the totality of the program in the sense that experimental science offers one way of knowing the world. The reluctance of the teachers to contemplate participation in the Theory of Knowledge, considered as an integrating feature of the IBP, is indicative of the gulf separating the planners' perspective and that of the developers.

The Reflective Interests of Planning

These are interests oriented towards making explicit the tacit assumptions built into a program, both by the developers and the planners. They are reflected in a critical evaluation of the commitment made by participants to the program, in an assessment of the interests at stake, and in an assessment of the control of the program from within and without the Edmonton school district.

COMMITMENT TO THE IBP

Beginning at the Denver workshop, there emerged a tacit understanding among the teachers that a fundamental difference existed between the way the developers perceived the IBP and the way in which it was perceived by the administrators in the Edmonton school district.

The teachers noted that for the IBO developers and staff at the international schools, IBP is an integrated, independent whole, whereas in Edmonton it is something "added on" to an existing program in order to provide enrichment. In the United World Colleges, the IBP is the only curriculum for the students, whereas in Edmonton the IBP is to be offered as "a bonus" to academically able students, who must by law, also satisfy the requirements for the Alberta high school diploma.

Since many teachers expressed misgivings about the notion of offering IBP as an "alternative" program, I enquired why they had agreed to participate in the project. A frequent reply was that it would ward off boredom by offering a change. Some teachers honestly acknowledged that they enjoyed working with the academically bright students, and the IBP would increase this opportunity. This pragmatic assessment of the day-to-day situation within a recurring semestered or annual pattern of events is indicative of the accommodations which teachers are prepared to make within the organizational context of the school. Accompanying their perceived professional responsibility of translating curricula into classroom activities are the tacitly acknowledged rewards of school life such as enjoyable social interaction with students and staff, and the stimulation of intellectual challenge. For most of these teachers, participation in the IBP did not represent a commitment to the intents of the program developers, or even a commitment to anything broader than enriched provincial courses, but it did offer the opportunity to enhance the rewards of social and intellectual interaction.

THE INTERESTS AT STAKE

The teachers were puzzled by the decision of the Central Office administrators to locate the IBP in three schools. It was the opinion of a majority of the planning teachers that it would have made better

sense to them to develop the program in a school which could be totally committed, staff and students, to the success of the spirit of the program, i.e., in the small 'academic' high school, with all the students enrolled in the IBP.

The teachers disclosed that, with the exception of staff at the 'academic' high school, they had not expressed particular interest in incorporating the IBP into the school offerings. Announcement of the selection of their schools as sites for IBP implementation was described by various teachers:

> "We were told 'Take a look at this.', and handed the Higher Level course outline. We were not given the option to develop a Subsidiary Level course as well."
>
> "There's been a willingness to just dump things and let them fall where they may."

There was general belief among the teachers that the decision to implement the IBP in Edmonton schools was made in response to the criticisms of a vocal minority who claimed that the provincial program did not challenge the academic student. Here are some of the teachers' viewpoints:

> "They're just shopping around for a high status enrichment program to quieten the parents, and show that we're offering alternative programs for the gifted as well as the disadvantaged."
>
> "It gets the Board off the hook. They can turn to the public and say that we do have a program for the gifted child."
>
> "We won't be fulfilling the intents of the IB: it's a political way to upgrade our S-program."

Notwithstanding the underlying uneasiness about the motives of the district administrators, many of the teachers felt that the IBP could be of benefit to the academically able students, in that the students would be able to pursue their studies to a greater depth during the high school program. Curiously, there was little interest expressed in the implications of the credential known as the IB Diploma in a broader social context, other than concern that the University of Alberta had not yet granted advanced standing to IB Diploma holders.

CURRICULAR CONTROLS

The tendency for Edmonton planners to accept (without questioning) the framework of the IBP reflects the willingness to impart the kinds of knowledge selected by the program developers. Since the IB has frequently been described by Peterson (1974, 1977) as a set of examinations, the Edmonton planners have accepted an external control for the standardization of student achievement. In contrast to the provincial pattern, in which students accumulate grades towards credit for individual courses throughout the three years of high school, IB candidates are assessed on their performance in one set of examinations at the conclusion of the program. Trustees and administrators have repeatedly stated that whatever happens in the implementation of the IBP, students must not be penalized if their performance in the IB examinations is not distinguished.

When planning for the implementation of the IBP began in Edmonton, many of the teachers were unaware of the necessity to gain official approval for the additional courses being added to the standard matriculation pattern. As one English teacher wrote: "Our first

assumption was that the Edmonton Public School Board and Alberta Education had come to terms over the acceptability of the IB curriculum and that all the latter was concerned with was that the student in the IB program would be at no disadvantage in the final Alberta assessment. We have since been informed that the total IB 'package' of curricula for each subject must be a 'clean package' (i.e., meeting basic stipulations for existing credit courses)." The significance of this stipulation came to be appreciated by the planning teachers in all subject areas as their work proceeded: essentially, the primary commitment of the Edmonton Board to the Alberta Education courses, and secondarily to the IB program. The essence of the issue is revealed in the following exchange among members of the Biology committee.

T_3: "The IB course is bigger than the Alberta [program]."

T_1: "No. The IB has no official recognition in Alberta [yet]."

T_3: "But in terms of scope, the IB is a bigger course than Alberta."

T_1: "I'm looking at the power play. The Alberta course is the overriding controlling mechanism."

T_3: "You're talking about administration, and I'm talking about a course."

T_1: "That's what I'm talking about: I don't care what the course is."

And so, throughout the planning sessions, the dominant concern was to satisfy the requirements of Alberta Education.

LEGITIMATION OF THE TEACHERS' PLANNING INTERESTS

The justification for the predominance of technical interests displayed by the teachers in this study may be related to their notion of professionalism. This appeared to be based on the assumption that teachers, having progressed through a specific training program, are prepared to assume specific responsibilities in the classroom, primarily the transmission of information and skills in a manner which will facilitate their acquisition by students. The professional is assumed to know what he is doing in his area of expertise, in the teachers' case, the classroom. The teachers anticipated that student success in the IB examinations will become a criterion of their professional standing, and consequently became distinctly apprehensive about the uncertainty involved in the projection of the program. They, therefore, attempted to optimize their working conditions (smaller classes, extra courses, additional marking time) and standardize course contents. Their interests were directed towards facilitating student examination success.

Insofar as the IBP as a program of studies seems "to work", i.e., it has received international recognition, the teachers were prepared to take it at face value. The perceived professional status of teacher within the educational hierarchy precludes participation in the critical assessment of a program of studies and the disclosing of assumptions and values embodied in it. The teachers would agree, with Ginsburg et al. (1979 : 204) that they have "neither the time, the energy, nor the inclination for teacher colleague groups to engage in analytical discussion of controversial, dissensus-inducing topics." The sustained committee work by the planning teachers was a rare occurrence in the school district, and one which was highly valued by those who chose to

work side by side. These teachers expressed a strong desire to continue their meetings on a regular basis throughout the early years of the IBP implementation, to offer mutual support and expertise. Given time and/or an appropriate stimulus, these groups of teachers may begin to contemplate a more critical stance, articulating concerns which reach beyond the horizon of the classroom.

The teachers' pragmatic acceptance of the administrative prescription of the framework for planning the IBP implementation is indicative again, of their perceived professional status in the district hierarchy. They adopt the stance that the teacher's place is in the classroom; district administrators have been trained for managerial responsibilities. It is not that the teachers are unaware of the manipulations at play within the educational organization, but that they do not view the complexities of management as their responsibility. And so, in accepting what has been constituted in other contexts as the norm for implementation planning, the teachers abdicate their interest in the definition of program planning, and in the meanings which underlie and sustain it (Taylor, 1979 : 121). The practice of planning for program implementation is considered as primarily a technical task of program replication.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. There are three courses in the provincial program: Biology 10, 20 and 30.

2. In the official document, the topic 'Immunology' is listed under "Blood and Circulation", in the Biology 30 IB Unit III: Systems Physiology - Human (45 hours).

   In the unofficial guide, the following appears:

   "IMMUNOLOGY

   - define 'immune response'; identify the tissue and cells involved ... thymus, spleen, lymphocytes, B-cells, leucocytes, T-lymphocytes, memory cells, plasma cells.
   - antigen-antibody specificity; immunoglobulins; primary and secondary immune responses.
   - autoimmunity; clonal-selection hypothesis (recognition of self).

   Wallace et al., p. 819
   Keeton, p. 687
   Arms & Camp, p. 457."

3. "Human impact - interference of food webs/chains, mineral cycles and succession, forestry, agriculture, monoculture, exotic species (tropical fish in Banff), Aswam Dam, Peace Delta.

CHAPTER V

THE DISCOURSE OF PLANNING

Introduction

In Chapter III, I explored the perspectives of those groups involved in planning for the implementation of IBP in Edmonton. I noted that among the developers, administrators, and teachers there were diverse values and interests underlying the planning interactions. In Chapter IV, I gave particular attention to the interests expressed by the teachers, and the rationalization of such interests. I noted that the teachers' interests were predominantly focused on the technical aspects of planning for installation of a curriculum as a body of knowledge to be efficiently transmitted within a specified time period. As the teachers became engaged by the program, some interpretive and critical interests were aroused, but rarely developed. In this chapter I make the assumption that the consciousness of the individuals involved in planning is framed by the form of the discourse appropriated by the system: that what individual teachers do or do not take for granted in their daily activities and in the activities of planning for implementation is structured by the quality of the social interactions in which they are engaged, as also is their ability to articulate to others what is, or is not taken-for-granted. It therefore becomes necessary to examine the features of these interactions within which

the meaning of what it is to plan a program of studies is constituted. For it is through these interactions of individuals, as members of particular groups, that competing definitions of a program of studies emerge as reality.

DISCOURSE OF PLANNING

Although a discourse has come to signify the expression of ideas, frequently in the form of a verbal interchange (Webster, 1968), the early Latin translation suggests a course of events (Webster) or "a running to and fro" (Klein, 1971). It is in these latter senses that I intend to explore the interactions among those individuals planning to implement IBP in Edmonton, in the hope that I can convey not only the contextual setting of the exchange of ideas, but also the disjointed character of the developmental process.

The organizations known as the IBO and Edmonton public school district may be viewed as arenas in which the meanings constructed by individuals as they interact socially, are juxtaposed with socially distributed power. In what follows, I use power in the sense of being the ability to mobilize resources to constitute the means to achieve specified outcomes (Giddens, 1976 : 110). Such resources will include the possession of "authority" by virtue of status in the organization, the possession of specific, relevant 'technical' knowledge, and the possession of persuasive verbal skills. Thus in this situational study, it is necessary to consider **who** has the capability to employ **which** resources required for program implementation.

It is not satisfactory to simply label the discourse of planning as political, in the sense of attaining a resolution of the conflict of interests and values inherent in the situation (Kirst and Walker, 1971) because this does not help us to discern the interrelationships of the factors at play. In the past, attention to the so-called political problems of curriculum implementation has tended to focus on the nature of the "conflicts and compromises among factional groups, such as developers, teachers, administrators, parents, governments" (House, 1979 : 4). These interactions have been identified as the "politics" of implementation; "processes of discourse through which members seek to assert and ultimately reconcile their wishes" (Kogan, 1978 : 15).

House (1979 : 6) suggests that the political perspective of curriculum studies came "into its own in the mid-seventies and now contends with the technological perspective for dominance as an interpretive framework." However, as mentioned above, the assumption is frequently made that "a measure of convergence can be achieved by normal processes of consultation, persuasion, bargaining and learning, so that in the end only a small recalcitrant rump must be over-ridden" (Shaw, 1978 : 10): whatever is entailed in the recalcitrant rump, or the process of being over-ridden is delegated to oblivion. If we entertain the hope of situating educational institutions (such as the Edmonton public school district) in a larger context, we must, as Sharp and Green (1975 : 54) remind us, "see the actors in this situation not as free and equal participants engaged in the social interchange which we call education, together negotiating and building up in an open context some mutually acceptable definition of reality, but in terms, frequently, of actors with varying degrees of power to define reality for others, not necessarily in terms which others accept as legitimate but which define for others the limits of negotiability, and the conditions under which

constraint will or will not be used." It is as one teacher pragmatically remarked, "All the idealism goes by the board when you start building a student-teacher timetable by way of money and resources. The priority here is to be Alberta Education, with IBP second."

In the Edmonton discourse of planning, there seem to be a number of features which to greater or lesser extents illustrate a differential distribution of the participating groups' abilities to influence the actions of others: those are (1) consensus building, (2) negotiation, (3) pseudoparticipation, (4) controlled information flow, (5) non-issues, (6) resistances, and (7) language.

(1) Consensus Building[1]

Although it is apparent from the observations reported in previous chapters that discrepant views of the IBP were held by developers, administrators and teachers, the administrators expended considerable effort establishing an official perspective on the program. This was that IBP is a rigorously academic program of studies designed to challenge the gifted senior student in offering enrichment to the standard Alberta curricula for Grades XI and XII. Since the achievement of candidates in the IBP is externally assessed by their performance in a final set of examinations at the conclusion of Grade XII, the administration considered that the development of a perspective shared by the external examiners to be a top priority. All the participating teachers were flown to Denver to meet, face-to-face, the subject

examiners and established (successful) teachers from international schools. In retrospect, the timing of this workshop was probably premature for the Edmonton teachers, most of whom were distinctly unfamiliar with either the rationale for the program or the details of the subject area courses. The teachers went to Denver anticipating a detailed specification of the scope and sequence of course contents, and a perusal of marked examinations, neither of which was secured in the case of the Biology committee. The Denver workshop was not followed-up by further general discussions in Edmonton of the perspective indicated by IBO and UNIS personnel. Teachers subsequently met with administrators for the sole purpose of organizing their work schedules for development of curriculum guides "articulating" the content of Alberta Education and IBP curricula.

Significantly, planning teachers were not invited to make statements at either of the public meetings planned to inform students and parents about the program. The official point of view was presented by school and Central Office administrators: the "public" display of the IB emphasized the intellectual challenge of the program, its international character and the prestige of the Diploma as positive features enhancing the attractiveness of the IBP. At these meetings, and in the discussion of the IBP taped for television as well as in the brochures distributed from high schools, it was as if the participants had agreed to a single over-all definition of the situation, involving "not so much a real agreement as to what exists but rather a real agreement as to whose claims concerning what issues" would be temporarily honored (Goffman, 1959 : 9). The agreement presented by the administration was actually a "veneer of consensus" in which lip service was paid

to the asserted values encompassed by IBP, and which served to gloss over the more fundamental assumptions embodied in the development of IBP. It was, as MacDonald and Walker (1976 : 43) suggest, a situation in which the rhetoric of consensus helped to foster the notion of progress. One administrator who would have preferred to develop a locally enriched program sustained the 'system' description of the IBP at all public events. This solitary, behind-the-scenes, expression of administrative dissent was indicative of the absence of interpretive or critical program evaluation accompanying the concept of planning for implementation.

Such representation of a convergence of values attributed to the IBP is a cover for the non-development of a shared perspective for the program. Sharing in the construction of the meanings of a program for its participants does not demand a unity of values, but a recognition of those values. The development of intersubjective meaning is not a matter of converging beliefs (Taylor, 1977 : 120) about a program but of understanding the essence of a school program of studies. And the deeper the understandings, the more likely the possibility of differences among participants. Thus the likelihood of upholding identical values in Edmonton high schools for a program of studies evolved in the United Nations School in New York decreases as the fundamental nature of the program becomes better appreciated by Edmonton planners. It is, therefore, in the interests of the program developers and Edmonton administrators, who are concerned primarily with the fidelity aspects of implementation, to develop a consensus on the values of IBP, and thus avoid an interrogation of the assumptions underlying the program. The imposition of a working consensus also inhibits the

the examination of individual opinions among participant planners, and the disclosure of discrepant beliefs. It would not have served the interests of those wishing to focus on the technical aspects of planning to foster debate explicating the social issues at stake in the implementation of IBP (Apple, 1979 : 115). The creation of a false consensus is a management technique which facilitates the adoption of an institutional meaning for a program of studies, but which is a facade for the individual, personal meanings which constitute the reality of a program in the classrooms. The institutional rhetoric of consensus helps to "deflect unwelcome interference and minimize unproductive conflict" (MacDonald and Walker, 1976 : 43). Thus an organization such as the IBO or the Edmonton school district not only establishes and sustains a consensus on the values of the IBP, but also sustains a consensus of the concept of planning for program implementation in which the framework of the program is taken-for-granted, and only the managerial aspects of implementation are considered to present a problem.

(2) Negotiation

In the previous section I suggested that organizational administrators favored a public display of consensus for a number of reasons. However, behind the scenes, and removed from the public eye, may be considerable activity of a negotiative character. This has been noted by other investigators: Shipman (1974 : 43) refers to "the process of bargaining, negotiating, and horse-trading in a curriculum project," and Wilson (1979 : 20) claims negotiation to be the process underlying the social

interaction of program implementation. He suggests that implementation offers an opportunity "for bargaining over what should be taught", in the hope of increasing control over the knowledge considered legitimate in the classroom. MacDonald and Walker (1976) contend that the trade-offs in meaning which are negotiated between developers and teachers, and between developers and academic critics, result in a gap between project intent and classroom practice, primarily because developers negotiate an idealized product image with academic critics.

Negotiation is referred to by many synonyms: bargaining, compromising, making deals. The usual conceptualization of negotiation suggests a cooperative process of conferring with a view to compromise or agreement. Within this somewhat narrow view of the means by which some aspects of planning for program implementation are accomplished, I am interested not so much in the means, but in the discovery of just what **is** negotiable by specific parties in this study. Which issues in program implementation are seen by the planners as best served by compromise, and why? And just as importantly, which issues are not considered open to negotiation?

Negotiations between teachers and administrators:

Edmonton planning teachers sustained their demands to administrators for adequate "resources" for implementation of the IBP. They were particularly concerned with the following:

a) Time Allocations

Biology, English, Chemistry and History teachers negotiated with system administrators for additional single courses in order to accommodate the increased content of the IBP syllabus. A solitary Physics teacher, invited by the school administration to prepare for IB Physics, was not a member of a planning committee and therefore not party to these negotiations. Although he felt that it would be impossible to meet all the requirements of IB Physics in the standard time allotments, he realized that the timetable for IB students had been filled already with additional courses in other disciplines.

The teachers negotiated with their respective school administrators for what they considered to be appropriate preparation and marking time. They argued that since IBP places considerably more emphasis on written communication than the standard provincial program, they would need considerably more time for reading students' work.

b) Curriculum Development Time

Teachers, usually as committees, but sometimes individually, negotiated with the system about the form of their curriculum development activities. While several committees (Biology, English and French) chose to work as a group together on the preparation of curriculum guides, others (Chemistry, History, and Mathematics) decided to work independently. Teachers were anxious to maintain the

supportive relationships established during the work of the committees; but, at the conclusion of this study, the system administration had not budgeted for maintenance of the committees after the year of planning. The teachers will have to negotiate with the individual school administrators for leave time in subsequent years.

c) Class Size

Teachers were aware that the trustees had approved a financial formula for IB funding based on class sizes of a minimum of 18 students (see Appendix E). They argued that if classes were permitted to increase beyond 20, their task of preparing students for the IB examinations would become impossible. Conversations with teachers from mainly private, but some U.S. public schools, had opened their eyes to the use of tutorials, and the Edmonton planners were hopeful of negotiating the establishment of these into the timetable.

d) Funding

The trustees approved a lump sum for acquisition of materials in the first year, to be divided among the participating schools (see Appendix E). Distribution of these funds among the various school departments was negotiated at IB staff budget meetings.

Negotiations among teachers:

In addition to negotiating with the administration their claims for appropriate working conditions, the teachers were involved in negotiating among themselves. The following observations apply only to the activities of the Biology committee unless stated otherwise.

When the teachers met for their first working session, they arrived with distinct perspectives on the task to which they were assigned. It was necessary for them to negotiate, either explicitly or implicitly, their working relationships, the order of their work, and the limits of their work.

Two of the three teachers were long-time associates, and well acquainted with each other's style of social interaction. Their uninhibited banter had proved daunting to those who did not recognize the functions it served, such as the relief of tense, or awkward situations, the boosting of morale, and the establishment of group solidarity (Woods, 1979 : 212). At the beginning of the first working session, the third teacher was an outsider to these exchanges, and somewhat cool to their occurence. By the second working session, he accepted the jokes and the stories, and throughout the third session was an active contributor. The growth of these working relationships over time was accentuated by the arrival of a teacher from a fourth school at a meeting held after the working sessions were concluded, and who found the style of one of the participant's exchange "intolerable."

In retrospect, the compromises made during the first session established the pattern of activities for all the sessions. Although one of the teachers expressed a desire to begin by considering some of the philosophical aspects of an IB Biology program, the suggestion was ignored. Instead, a comparison by one teacher of the topics identified in Alberta and IB curriculum guides was used to initiate a pattern of assigning and sequencing these to specified courses. This was accomplished by the initiator of the comparison reading from the curriculum guides, while his colleagues tabulated topics on a large blackboard, and on paper. The transcripts of the working sessions reveal a very regular pattern of the same teacher making suggestions and statements (sometimes dogmatic), which were accepted or modified by the other two teachers. I enquired of these two teachers whether the pacing of their sessions was led spontaneously by the third member of the committee, and the responses indicated that the arrangement was "accepted" - it was a compromise. As one teacher remarked,

> "I knew what we had to cover, and the time limit we had, and I knew what I was capable of doing, so it didn't bother me. There were times when I was worried, and went in an hour early several mornings, and got things written down. By one person doing that, we saved three hours talk."

This last comment revealed a view of the verbal exchanges, or negotiations, as ultimately leading to closure of debate, to compromise, to a fixing of the appearance of the curricular documents. The exchanges were not considered to be opportunities for opening up the possibilities of new meaning in a Biology program. This view of committee interactions was reinforced by a Chemistry teacher, commenting on the benefits of his committee's

decision to work independently on different sections of the Chemistry curriculum.

> "You could spend a whole morning, or a whole day, back and forth, on one point."

The production of two sets of documents, one for "them" (Central Office) and one for "us", was, in part, the result of a compromise among the members of the Biology committee. One of the teachers wanted specific details of the course contents to be elaborated in the Teacher Guide, but the other members rejected this as unnecessary.

And so the unofficial document came into being with the informal notes and details of how to deal with various aspects of the courses. The same division occurred when the rationale and objectives for the courses were discussed. Since two of the committee viewed the IB Biology courses as an adaptation of the Alberta curriculum, they saw no need for thinking through the reasons for engaging in the IB Biology program.

The limits of negotiation:

The consequences of the negotiations between the teachers and administrators always involved the allocation of resources by the latter, on the premise that such a distribution would likely increase the successful application of the teachers' resources (technical expertise) in the classroom. The framework within which these resources are to be employed, i.e., the program of studies in its social context, was viewed by administrators as lying beyond the limit of negotiation. The authority of the administration to define the framework was challenged only once, when the teachers

successfully negotiated arrangements for two of them to accompany a Central Office administrator on a visit to three American public schools offering the IBP. Also lying beyond the limits of negotiation were the primacy of the provincial curricula, the attributed value of the IBP, and the conceptualization of implementation as installation.

Negotiations among the teachers, on the other hand, dealt not with the distribution of material resources, but with the pattern of their interactions within the administratively defined framework for planning. Their negotiations established a common ground for committee members, a set of rules which identified what could be taken-for-granted, and what was open for debate. These rules facilitated completion of the task assigned to the teachers.

(3) Pseudoparticipation

In the last chapter, I attempted to illustrate that the articulated interests of the teachers involved in the planning discourse lay predominantly in the technical domain, and to a lesser extent in the interpretive one, but only rarely in the reflective or critical orientation. Why was this the case?

The teachers were agreed on the definition of their task within the planning project: their responsibility was to amalgamate the content of two sets of curricula, those of the IBP and those of Alberta education. It was not a task which they themselves would label as "curriculum development", because the content selection had already been made; the teachers felt a more appropriate description was that of curriculum adaptation. The

teachers felt that because of their previous experience with Alberta Education courses, they were able to assess the classroom "needs" for the presentation of additional IB material; such things as additional courses, additional texts, and supplementary library materials.

The teachers' claim to authority within the educational organization lies in their expertise in the practical knowledge of the classroom (Elbaz, 1980). Much of this practical knowledge is never articulated beyond the dimensions of administrative program needs, because its expression is rarely required, and because teachers rarely experience the opportunity to openly reflect on their work. Thus the meaning of living in a particular program of studies may not be fully explicated by the teachers. If teachers are called upon as consultants for program needs rather than as key decision-makers, they can hardly be considered as joint partners in the planning project. The Edmonton teachers were not invited to make any key decisions about the kinds of knowledge appropriate for an alternative secondary program; they were not invited to express opinions of the matter prior to the planning. The form of the implementation planning project was established by those with expertise in management, and with the authority to allocate resources.

Read (1980 : 330) has noted that there is a tendency "to think of the teacher as a negotiator who has to stand up for his interests, in a political arena where others are likely to have greater power, and who, if his negotiations are successful, may become a collaborator in externally inspired reform." I am suggesting that the teacher activities in Edmonton planning could

scarcely be identified as collaboration in curriculum development in the sense of **creating** a program of studies. The extent of the collaboration is in the public demonstration of support to the administrative control of the planning provided by the teachers' volunteering to participate. Their acceptance of the parameters of the program of studies, as laid down by the IBO and Alberta Education, is an illustration of their acceptance of control perceived as coming from legitimate over-all structures (Apple, 1982 : 267). The institutionalization of the parameters for choice of curriculum not only serves to limit the actions of program planners, but also to legitimate the resultant decisions (Hunter, 1979 : 129).

As the planning sessions progressed and teachers became more familiar with the IBP, they voiced doubts and raised questions about the appropriateness of the program in Edmonton. The response of one administrator to these rumblings was that "it had been assumed that the teachers who volunteered shared the philosophy of the IBP", which, translated from administrative language, may be interpreted as "it was assumed that teachers who volunteered were party to the consensus that IBP would be good for the system." The "rhetoric" of participation, Hunter (1979, 213) suggests, is used as "a legitimating strategy for forms of social control, by securing the commitment of teachers to decisions they do not, in fact, make."

(4) Control of Communications

It is in the interests of the IBO to establish and maintain a network of communications by means of which the perspectives of the planners can be sustained in the far corners of the earth. It is

the planners' view of the program which has been legitimated, and which is currently upheld, for the most part, by the external IB examinations. In addition to these, however, the IBO has extended its contact with affiliated schools by offering workshops, bulletins, and newsletters which transmit to affiliated personnel the intents and values considered inherent in the program. These communications serve to bolster commitment to a network of IB participating schools in much the same way as scientists are committed to their paradigmatic community (Kuhn, 1970). By committing themselves to a set of rules and standards of practice, educators may get on with the job of educating rather than dealing with alternative, competing definitions of the situation. Such a shared program perspective provides "cohesiveness and social control" (Werner, 1976 : 111) because the developers have the power to control the viewpoint of the program. The significance of this control was perceived by an Edmonton teacher as he explained:

> "We were told that new schools could expect abnormally high failure rates at first, until they get to know us and we get to know them. It appears that we will have to join the old boy network."

During the year of planning for IBP in Edmonton, the teachers grew critical of the manner in which information filtered "down" the hierarchy to them. Theoretically, the teachers had access to two lines of communication: an IB coordinator had been appointed in each of the participating high schools with the primary responsibility of maintaining liaison between IB instructional staff, Central Office, and the IBO. In addition, the subject area consultants for the system had been directed to facilitate arrangements for the work of the curriculum development committees

(such as organizing substitute teachers during the working sessions), and to act as liaison between the committees and the Director of Curriculum Development.

Contact between the IB coordinators and the IB teachers in their respective schools was minimal during the planning year. One teacher reported that he attended three meetings during the year, "very brief, housekeeping meetings, in the lunch hour." I was an observer at one such meeting during the spring, when the time-tabling for the next school year was being worked out. The IB Coordinator appeared surprised that the teachers expressed an urgent need for discussions about program needs.

No-one seemed quite sure what role should have been assumed by the IB coordinators during the planning year. Observed one teacher: "They've seen themselves as passing on published memos from IBO."

Many teachers noted that the consultants had been extremely cooperative and supportive in their efforts. However, the teachers commented that there seemed to be a communication gap somewhere "above" the consultants in the organization. The consultants had difficulty identifying the specific requirements for documentation of the IB courses required for the submission to Alberta Education.

The teachers also commented that some of the consultants were not familiar with secondary programs of study, nor were they specialists in curriculum development. Consequently the consultants were not able to provide the teachers with any

assistance in their task, other than relaying requests for clarification to the administrators primarily responsible for IBP. A committee member told me that

> "The guidance of how to proceed has been minimal, and communication with various interested parties, Central Office, the four schools, Alberta Education, and the other committees, has often been confusing and sometimes contradictory. As a result, we have made erroneous assumptions and consequent errors which have had to be corrected."

The teachers felt particularly frustrated by the division of responsibility for IBP in Central Office. They felt that if one person was thoroughly familiar with all aspects of the program they would be better able to obtain satisfactory responses to their queries.

More significantly for the discourse of planning, however, was that the fragmentation and isolation of the planning teachers aided in the restriction of their interests to the local, more technical domain. It affirmed the notion that "the more dispersed individuals with common work experience are, the less likely they are to formulate a strongly held common outlook and the less power they have" (Collins, 1975 : 312). It is not that the teachers are unaware of the realities constructed around them, but their inability to engage in an articulation of interests which extend beyond their immediate daily experience.

House (1976 : 337) has commented that:

> "One way to control innovation is to control the flow of personal contact. Who knows whom and who talks to whom are powerful indicators of whether, where, and when an innovation will be accepted."

During the planning year, the Edmonton public school district hosted a number of visitors related to the IBP. The Director of Lester B. Pearson College, Jack Matthews, spent a day talking about his IBP experiences with the Central Office and school administrators. Mr. Matthews also spoke at a public meeting intended to publicize the advent of IBP in the Edmonton system, but which actually seemed to generate more interest in the United World College system! The planning teachers were not invited to meet with Mr. Matthews.

The school district invited six students from Pearson College to visit the district for a week in the spring. These students answered questions at a general public meeting arranged by the Central Office and school administrators, but they did not meet with the teacher committees. Considerable criticism of this visit was directed at Central Office for organizing it before the district had actually entered the IB program, for there were no Edmonton students particularly interested in meeting the Pearson College students.

The teachers' contacts with those instructing in the IBP in other school systems had been limited to the brief meetings at the Denver workshop. By the spring of 1981, when the planning sessions were drawing to a conclusion, the Biology teachers expressed the need to talk face-to-face with IB teachers and students in public schools (and not private or international schools). Arrangements were made for two of the teachers to accompany a Central Office consultant to three American public schools, where they met with teachers, students and administrators associated with the implementation of the IBP. On their return, the teachers submitted a list of 22 recommendations to Edmonton administrators, most of which were of a managerial nature.

(5) Non-Issues

I mentioned in a previous section that as the teachers became more familiar with the intents of the IBP, their doubts and questions with regard to its appropriateness in Edmonton increased. As they looked beyond the technical concerns of planning, their attention was drawn to issues avoided by the display of consensus created following initial adoption of the program, and by their recruited commitment to a program without meaning. An administrative resource not always recognized is the control of agenda at large, general meetings, as well as in small, committee groups. Boyd (1978 : 14) describes it as "power expressed covertly through the ability of powerful interests to control the agenda of decision-making and prevent the discussion of 'unsafe' or 'undesirable' issues."

There seemed to be two notable features of IBP which deserve the description of "non-issue." The first is the elusive character of "international" education, and the second is the charge of elitism. What is it about the IBP which enables it to be described as an international program? Does the fact that the examinations are set in Geneva and London and marked by examiners around the world confer on the program a global perspective? Or should there be particular attention given to the beliefs of different cultures when studying in the six disciplinary fields? How can the Theory of Knowledge course facilitate a broader perspective of humanity? There were no discussions of these questions at any of the general gatherings during the planning project, although committee members voiced their concerns in private. The "worldwide culture" to which Peterson refers (1977 : 43) has yet to be elucidated. Remillard

(1976 : 204) in his analysis of the knowledge code exemplified by the IBP, assesses the program to lie within a traditional European paradigm of educational knowledge. Possibly this non-issue is about to surface, since at the Denver (1980) workshop, it was announced that the appointment of a Director of Curriculum in the IBO was "based on awareness of the need to examine the international dimension in a different way ...."

Announcement of the plans to introduce the IBP into three city public schools elicited a number of letters to the editor of the Edmonton Journal. Claims that "elitist notions in education are offensive to democratic sense" (October 27, 1981) were countered by retorts that "the right of each individual to develop to its full potential whatever special talent God has gifted him with, for the benefit of society, is true democracy" (November 4, 1981).

When charges of elitism were first levelled at the IBO, Peterson defended his position in the 1972 IBO Annual Bulletin. He made clear his assumption that a social hierarchy is a necessity for the development of political and intellectual leadership, and he defended the concept of an elite of "talent and commitment" as fulfilling the prerequisite for rulers of society (also Peterson, 1957).[2] He argued that status should be achieved on the basis of competence, interest and achievement rather than on the basis of social standing or birthright. The fact that IB classes were a little more middle to upper class than senior secondary classes in national public schools (Peterson, 1974 : 122) was seen to be a consequence of the types of schools participating in the experimental period (1970-76) of the IBP, i.e., private and international schools.

At the root of this controversy is **not** whether the talented and committed students should be challenged (although the criteria for identification of such students and the selection of knowledge for such programs is open to debate) but whether the introduction of a credential such as the IB Diploma perpetuates and legitimates social inequalities. Administrators, teachers, parents and students "imbibe an explanation of social hierarchies as functional, necessary and inevitable, and of their and other's location within it as being due to differential competencies, motivation and aptitudes upon which the school sets its seal of approval or disapproval" (Sharp, 1980 : 126).

As a "means of access to further training" (Renaud, 1974 : 42) the IB Diploma is attractive because of the international prestige claimed for it by its developers and implementers. C. Wright Mills (159 : 87) has described prestige as a sort of domination which "paralyzes our critical faculty, and fills us with astonishment and respect", certainly an apt description for many IBP implementers. The IB Diploma is presently considered a select credential in that only a few Canadians are holders of it. As the Director of Curriculum, Alberta Education, noted, "When you say you are a matriculant, you are one of hordes; when you say you're an IB Diploma graduate, you're one of a handful. The IB program is a means to an end which is a credential, a document."

Boyd (1978 : 15) has commented that "conflict avoidance tends to be a salient orientation in the minds of school [and district] administrators." The designation of the elitist charge as a non-issue, and its careful non-appearance on the agendas of committee and general meetings was deliberately orchestrated to

avoid debate and confrontation. District and school administrators were highly sensitive to enquiries about the topic. One administrator acknowledged that it would be easy for ill-feeling to be generated during the implementation of a "new program carrying with it an aura of elitism." His concern was for the reaction of students and teachers not involved in the IBP. It was suggested to me that the decision to locate the IBP in three (and later, four) schools was "political wisdom" in that it avoided the creation of a single "elite high school." It was also thought that the chances of acceptance of the program would be increased by "integrating" it as widely as possible within the system.

The designation of controversial topics such as international education and elitism as non-issues illustrates the covert control wielded by administrative staff in an educational hierarchy.

(6) Resistances

The developers' power to control the perspective through which a program is constituted cannot be unconditionally imposed on program participants who have the potential to resist or alter the messages transmitted to them. The administrative adoption of a program claiming that its thrust is one of learning "how" to learn, to be implemented within the confines of a provincial framework which emphasizes "what" to learn, could be seen as a fundamental resistance to embracing the "spirit" of IBP. Throughout the planning project, the primary concern of administrators has been that the IB candidates not be "penalized" in terms of provincially-based credentials. The underlying concern is that, in the event

that Edmonton students not perform successfully in the IB examinations, they should be in a position to achieve honors standing in local or provincial examinations. Thus, as noted in another situation by Reynolds (1973), there is a tendency to incorporate the elements of the program which are identified as most compatible with the existing program. The original selection of six subject areas showing the greatest compatibility with respect to provincially prescribed content illustrates this point. In Edmonton, IB candidates will be restricted (initially) to a three year program devoted almost entirely to these six fields of study: a table of courses for the IB Diploma candidate shows three courses open for optional courses, in which would be included the Fine Arts options which may constitute a CASS component of the IBP, and Physical Education courses at the senior levels. This extremely limited flexibility for the Edmonton IB student stands in stark contrast to the wide choice of interests offered in the ideal portrayed by IBP brochures.

The planning for implementation of IBP in Edmonton has followed a pattern of fitting the program into an established social and political system by a process of "assimilation to the familiar" (Reynolds, 1973). With attention focused on meshing the content of the new and the old programs, there has been little concern with instructional approach. The general assumption appears to be that classroom interactions will not be significantly different from those of the standard program. One teacher concluded that the IBP offered "the justification for what he had always been teaching." It was apparent that the teachers proceeded to define their situation within the new program in terms consistent with their past experiences, values, and norms. It

should be emphasized here that the latter are not necessarily congruent with the teachers' perceptions of the Alberta Education program for senior high school, as the following remarks indicate:

> "I tend to ignore bits of the Alberta philosophy. It demands a certain self-confidence on the part of the teacher who has the guts to continue doing what he or she is doing without being worried by Alberta Education people coming in and saying 'Are you doing this or that?'."
>
> "It was quite easy to do [pick out areas of emphasis] because that was the way the three of us were teaching it anyway. The decisions we made in the Alberta Education curriculum were made ten or fifteen years ago, and are very much in line with the IBP. Regardless of what has been mandated by the IB, we maintain a program that fits very well with it."
>
> "We're going to be teaching all those sections which were thrown out in the last curriculum revision."
>
> "When I start running out of time in a course, those are always the first topics that I throw out."

If I use the term "resistance" in the sense of an individual distancing himself from oppressive tasks (Giddens, 1979 : 148), then it may be seen as exemplifying the reciprocation of control by those who work within an hierarchical organization such as a city education system. The quotations suggest that teachers actively defend their classroom autonomy, and in connection with this, are prepared to construct independent strategies for planning for implementation. Although specifically requested to provide course outlines in terms of goals and behavioral objectives, the Biology teachers rejected outright such a plan, providing these at the conclusion of their working session. An English teacher who had recently attended a University curriculum course observed "I was the only one on our committee who thought about objectives." And as mentioned in an earlier chapter, at least two of the teacher

committees used their collaborative sessions to produce two sets of documents, "one compiled and cosmetically arranged to satisfy the official eye; another, realistic and practical to meet the needs of the students and teachers."

Teachers also rejected requests to submit examples of student achievement tests, on the grounds that these could only be developed as an ongoing process during program implementation.

The promises of additional marking time for participating IB teachers fell by the wayside when the staff of one of the high schools voted that no additional preparatory time be scheduled for any reason. Whether this was the beginning of an anti-IB movement among non-participating IB staff was not ascertained: certainly there were grounds for resentment in other areas as well (for example; Physical Education teachers were frequently allowed an additional preparation period to "make-up" for their after-school coaching time). In an IB staff meeting, the concerns of all the teachers, and especially those of the History and English teachers, were expressed to the IB Coordinator. One teacher stated flatly that he would not participate in the instruction of the IBP in the school unless the requested marking time was scheduled in the timetable. It was.

Fullan (1982 : 256) points out that "a teacher who is pre-occupied with the demands involved in maintaining an existing program cannot be expected to change readily when the change does not seem needed, is unclear or unrealistic in timeline or resource support, is not understood by the principal, may seem to be politically motivated and is likely to be reversed or altered in

the near future based on new political pressures." The implementation of the IBP in three Edmonton high schools has not entailed planning for change; rather it has involved a plan for extension of the existing program. Many of the teachers do view the adoption of IBP as a political exercise to elevate the status of existing S-courses, and are concerned for the future: "There's no guarantee that when the person who's given the big push to this kind of thing goes, that the next person will be interested in maintaining the program." The teachers also anticipate serious problems with the timelines of the program, particularly those related to the final examinations of the IB which are held in May, a month earlier than the local examinations.

Most of the teachers suggested to me that they had volunteered to participate in the program for one or other, or both, of the following reasons: a) because they are stimulated when working with the academically gifted, and b) because it offers a change, and some relief from the monotony of repeating the same courses year after year. Ironically, this last rationalization for opting into the program stands in contradiction of the observed pattern of extending the current program, whilst retaining its current emphases. The activities of the planners suggested that, in fact, they sought to retain what was familiar, and neglect the unknown, in a process similar to that described by Olson (1980 : 6) in his observations of the implementation of the British Schools Council Integrated Science Project. The Theory of Knowledge and CASS components of the IBP, unique features of the program, were set on one side as planners occupied themselves with the organization of known aspects of the program.

The incorporation of teachers' perspectives into educational programs, and the change over time of these perspectives has been acknowledged in various ways by a number of researchers. Connelly's (1972, 1980) view of the teacher as adapting and developing materials appropriate to his situation portrays the teacher in the process of accommodating to his environment. The teacher's interpretation of the curricular materials is shaped by his individual situation and past experiences. This view does not, however, contemplate a reciprocal relationship between curriculum and situation in which the teacher might attempt to modify or improve his situation **through** curriculum.

McLaughlin (1976) uses the term "mutual adaptation" to signify a process of interaction between program goals and methods, and the participants in the program implementation. Change in both program goals and methods, and participants' views results from the interactions. He suggests that resistance to change may result in the modification of the program features so that it conforms to the traditional practices. He does not, however, consider the reasons for such resistance. It has been characteristic of most research into the fidelity of implementation and the process of implementation, to take the underlying social values of the programs for granted, in much the same way as the position of teachers as users, is taken for granted.

(7) The Language of Discourse

Language is an intrinsic part of any social situation. With the aid of language, we not only describe our reality, but create it. It is through the medium of language that social relationships are established. Thus the language of the discourse of planning

structures the planners' perceptions of program and program implementation, and provides coherence to the features so far described in this chapter. I draw upon the work of Edelman (1977), Apple (1979), and Popkewitz (1982) in the discussion which follows.

The IBO advertizes its program by means of a booklet entitled "Restoring a Challenge to Secondary Education." The use of these words evokes the notion of deficit or slipping standards in secondary schools, and endorses the publicly aired opinion that our educational institutions are not fulfilling their responsibilities. The title of the booklet provides the words through which Edmonton trustees and administrators can justify the adoption and planning for implementation of the IBP. The title satisfies the minority group which claims that the academically gifted secondary students in the district have been neglected.

A number of phrases have become associated with the IBP during the discourse of planning, such as academically able, intellectual challenge, enrichment, international education, and prestigious program. Such phrases hold the promise of something special, creating an image of success for those entering the program, although they don't describe what actually will happen in the classrooms of the program. Indeed, as has already been mentioned, the meaning of these phrases is in some cases elusive (enrichment, international education) and in others quite arbitrary (intellectual challenge, academically able). And, as in the example above, the description of the program in these terms legitimates its adoption within the Edmonton public school district.

The tendency of the Edmonton administrators to adopt the language of systems management imposes on the planning discourse an interest in manipulating the object of implementation. Systems language provides a seemingly 'neutral' vocabulary in which to discuss the process of planning, i.e. the timelines for participants, the dissemination of the program, the entry and dropout points for students, the course and credit equivalencies in the program. The assumptions and implications of the program are automatically excluded from the discussion not merely because of a lack of critiical interest, but because of the subtle power wielded through medium of technical language.

The use of "professional" educational language conveys to the public the impression that the planning is in the hands of competent, efficient personnel. It is through language that the administrative planners avoid conflict through a display of consensus and a control of communications. In addition, technical language can provide a cover-up for that which is not known, for whatever reason. It is used to structure the perceptions of status and authority, both within and without the educational hierarchy, such that it is legitimate for teachers not to worry about the logistics of systems plans, in much the same way as it is justifiable for "system" administrators not to be concerned with the details of course content. The professionalization of educators has led to a fragmentation of views of education which is perpetual through the use of instrumentally oriented language.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Consensus building is one of the responses to conflict suggested by Milstein (1980). Postulating that the potential for conflict arises when (a) the goals of groups are perceived to be incompatible, (b) those involved share resources, and (c) when the groups' activities are interdependent, Milstein also considers the alternative responses of competition, organizational modifications, avoidance, and a mixture of these.

2. The connotation of the term 'elite' is that of superior status in society, whether by virtue of wealth, power or intellect. Bottomore (1964 : 70) distinguishes between 'intellectuals' and 'intelligentsia': he suggests that the latter term has come to denote individuals engaged in non-manual, middle-class occupations. The intellectuals are a much smaller group who distinguish themselves by engaging in the creation and criticism of ideas, and act as critics of society. A consequence of our technological society is that the intellectual elite is predominantly one of experts in technical fields, rather than philosophically-oriented social critics. Peterson envisaged the IBP as providing an education appropriate for an elite of 'talent and commitment', from whom societal leaders would emerge, but not necessarily as societal critics.

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Thus far, I have presented an interpretation of the perspectives from which participants in the planning for IBP implementation have acted. I have also portrayed the interactions among participants (and between program and participants) as constituting a discourse characterized by its language and the strategies of consensus-building, negotiation, pseudoparticipation, communication control, non-issues, and resistances. In this concluding chapter, I wish to consider two conceptualizations of the discourse of planning and the implications that these may hold for the articulation of multiple perspectives in program planning. Of course, these are only two of many possible conceptualizations, and I do not wish to suggest that these alternatives are limiting. However, it may be constructive to examine the characteristics displayed in the Edmonton discourse in the light of these conceptualizations, and to contemplate what opportunity exists for a genuine transformation in a program of studies. Finally, I consider some personal concerns in the study.

Two Possibilities for Planning Program Implementation

A discourse of planning may be considered as illustrative of modes of interaction in which domination by influential, societal groups is concealed and which, as such, may be thought of as ideological (Giddens, 1979 : 193).[1] An alternative conceptualization of a planning discourse envisages modes of interaction which constitute a questioning of the social reality in which the planners act, and which may be described as dialogical (Freire, 1970 : 214).

Giddens (1979 : 193) has suggested three principal forms of strategy which conceal the interests of dominant groups:

(i) representation of their interests as universal ones
(ii) denial of contradictions
(iii) reification of social relations.

The transmission of knowledge in schools ostensibly contributes to the development of individual potential, which in turn, contributes to the progress of society. What is not usually recognized is that there has been a selection of the kinds of knowledge deemed useful and worthwhile, and that this selection is assumed to be to the benefit of all students. In capitalist societies, it is in the interests of the controlling groups to sustain the illusion of education as improving the condition of all, while simultaneously sustaining inequitable social relations by allocating individuals to appropriate positions within the hierarchical division of labor (Apple, 1979 : 117). Although a majority of students and parents view the school as the locale for the development of talent, in reality it is the locale for the transmission of status.

The representation of school knowledge as politically "neutral" offers a fundamental contradiction within any educational system. That curricula may be seen as comprising objective knowledge, free of context, while simultaneously providing a formal justification for prevailing institutional arrangements is an example of the kind of disjunction which dominant groups prefer not to acknowledge. It is not in the interests of those who would maintain the status quo to examine principles within educational practice which act in contravention of one another.

The process whereby relations between individuals assume the characteristics of natural laws is an instance of the concept of reification.[2] Social relations come to be regarded as the objectified relations among things. This process prevents individuals from recognizing the ever-changing and changeable character of relations among individuals grouped in an organization, or in the broader context of society. Reified thinking attributes intentions, purposes, and needs to social systems, rather than to the individuals who make up groups within the systems. Reified thinking about social practices "factualizes dominant realities" (Sarup, 1978 : 94).

The conduct of an ideological discourse of planning "shapes and incorporates the taken-for-granted views, needs, and concerns of subordinate groups" (Giroux, 1981 : 23). The features of consensus-building, pseudoparticipation, non-issues, etc., constitute a filtering out of the essential nature of schooling as a "socially constructed institution which mediates particular cultural values and human interests" (Popkewitz et al., 1982 : 5). The reality of program implementation constructed from an ideological discourse is one which is limited to the prevailing views of the program and the process of implementation.

In contrast, a dialogical discourse seeks to open up the meaning of the program within a specific context by encouraging an exchange of questions and answers among participants. It is understood that the meanings which are constituted in such an exchange are dependent upon the meanings of the context already held by participants, but importantly, may call into question those previously constructed concepts. The modes of communication among the participants are not taken-for-granted, but contemplated as problematic: how may the activities of program planners best contribute to a questioning of program implementation? The intent of the project becomes one of broadening perspectives as participants' horizons are fused, not of converging perspectives into a single focal point. Unlike the ideological discourse, in which the prospect of multiple realities is viewed as a threat, the dialogical discourse endeavors to encompass the vision of pluralism.

The reality of implementation initiated from a dialogical discourse of planning is that of an evolving program; a program in the course of becoming a program. There is no closure, no completion of the implementation process. It is a reality pervaded by critical reflection and characterized by an ongoing dialogue among participants and between participants and program. It requires "purposeful, human activity that involves going beyond or refusal of some given reality in the name of a reality to be produced" (Sartre, 1968 : 91).

The Edmonton Discourse of Planning

IBP developers have claimed to be serving the interests of the community of international education by establishing this program of studies in both public and private schools around the world. The transition of the status of the program from one which attempted to

provide a common school-leaving qualification for multinational school communities to the present offer of an education beyond the national horizon is an attempt to extend control of a narrowly defined pattern of education. Moreover, it is a program which endorses the use of select credentials as an entry device into higher educational institutions. The explicit appeal to international interests, although ill-defined, serves to legitimate the program in the eyes of those willing to support it financially (both state and private sources), and those willing to provide the essential accreditation.

Edmonton administrators and trustees sincerely believe that the IBP will offer an improved educational experience for academically able students: that in providing for maximum development of intellectual growth, the organization is investing in the accumulation of skills and knowledge on which, as one Trustee remarked, "the survival of this country is dependent." Those in Edmonton who set this project in motion would like to believe that, by virtue of its internationally accepted accreditation and its intellectual rigor, the IBP will offer students a higher rate of individual mobility, as well as guaranteeing a supply of well-trained people (Apple, 1979 : 116). It is obvious, however, that unarticulated doubts about the claims of the program underlie the expressed conviction of many of the Edmonton adopters who are not prepared to relinquish the security of provincial accreditation. It was not possible to ascertain whether the determination to ensure that students offering themselves as candidates in the IBP should not "be penalized" rested on doubts concerning the status of an IB Diploma, or on doubts concerning the ability of the school district to adequately prepare the candidates for the examinations. The pattern of interactions among the planners did not allow underlying questions about program and planning to be brought to the surface. Taking-for-granted the value of the IBP, a consensus of this opinion was constructed and distributed by administrators. Ill-defined or discrepant features of

the program became non-issues. Teachers found themselves in the dilemma of preparing students for two totally different sets of examinations, and therefore concentrated their attention on the curricular content of the IBP and Alberta Education courses in what was essentially a "re-packaging" of existing products (Berman and McLaughlin, 1977 : 360). As in the case of the teachers involved in piloting the Nuffield Science Teaching project, it was apparent that "following a detailed course does not necessarily entail thinking through its rationale, or even that the approach is followed in any recognizable way (Waring, 1979 : 24).

The teachers were certainly not unaware of the political interplay in the planning discourse, and the extent to which they were, or were not able to articulate this knowledge, and exploit it in the form of resisting the dominant views, is of particular interest. Why did the teachers agree to "participate" in the planning project on the terms established by the administration? This is a complex issue, not readily answered. The teachers have contributed to the ideological nature of discourse in the way they see themselves within the organizational hierarchy. They see the relations between administrators and teachers as fixed and impenetrable, governed by the rules of the system. They do not deal with individuals as administrators, but with "the" administration or "Central Office." The isolation in which teachers spend much of their working day diminishes the opportunities for redefining their interests in their daily situation, and therefore acts to contain them within a technical orientation. The rhetoric of teacher participation in the implementation planning, and their preoccupation with curricular content, successfully diverted attention away from the values embedded in the program. And as Rachel Sharp notes (1980 : 165) "there is an ever-present danger of incorporation such that participation in the decision-making could entail participating in the conditions of domination themselves."

Contradictions such as those encompassed by implementation of the IBP, with its implicit emphasis on competitive achievement within a liberal framework, into schools which have traditionally downplayed the competitiveness of education in favor of the concept of self-worth, have been submerged in the wave of commitment generated by planning participation. The flow of information between "Central Office" and the teachers has been erratic and unreliable, and concerned entirely with the technical details of management.

Many of the features displayed by the Edmonton discourse of planning are suggestive of ideological practice in which the activities and interests of the practitioners are aligned with the interests of dominant social groups sustaining the educational institution. The strategy of consensus-building by developers and administrators was necessary for the display of their interests as being common to all in the community; the control of information and agendas prevented contradictions from surfacing, and the nature of teacher-administrator negotiations and teacher participation conformed to the pattern acceptable in hierarchical organizations. Throughout the project, the professional language spoken by administrators, and applied to documents by teachers, has emphasized the authority with which those in the defined positions of developer, administrator or teacher may act, and in so doing, has reinforced the ideological character of the discourse. Moreover, because the pronouncements on the IBP implementation by the educational administration of the public school district are perceived as professional assessments of the program, public acceptance of their decisions is promoted.

The Opportunity for Transformation

The discourse of planning for implementation of a specific program of studies offers an opportunity for dialogical interactions among participants and program which hold the potential to mediate transformations in both. Within a dialogical discourse, the temptation to separate the program (as object) from the lived experiences of participant planners is resisted, because the program becomes an integral constituent of the planners' views of the world. The refusal to separate program from planner makes the act of planning a problem in itself; no longer can top priority be given to the technical management of implementation. The discourse of planning must provide for interpretive and critical interest which are complementary to the mechanical aspects of implementation. Instead of pseudoparticipatory functions in curriculum development in which teachers attempt to define the limits of curricular content, the planning discourse would offer an invitation to open up the potential meanings in the program for all participants, teachers and students. Instead of consensus-building, the discourse would offer an opportunity to disclose the underlying assumptions and intentions of the program developers, and equally importantly, allow the planners to examine their own basic assumptions about knowing and learning in programs of study. The anticipation of engaging in a specific program such as the IBP calls for small group discussions in which participants share the beliefs which guide their practice (Werner, 1979). Clarification of the values and assumptions which participants bring to the situation, together with an articulation of the assumptions and values seen to be associated with the program, provides a basis for transforming both program and participants. However, joint reflection resulting in a "mere coming to know of one another's interpretive meanings" (Aoki, 1980 : 14) is not sufficient to

accomplish this transformation within school practice. The priorities established within the organizational pattern for planning must be questioned in a continuous process which strives to critically understand the role of the school in society at large. The dialogical discourse would provide teachers and administrators with the opportunity to articulate the meanings underlying their resistances to institutional constraints impinging upon their situation.

Reflection on the Study

This study began as an explanation of the multiple perspectives of those individuals involved in the planning for implementation of the IBP in Edmonton. Working from the assumption that what we take-for-granted within our socially constructed realities is integral to our understanding of concepts such as program planning and program implementation, I went in search of the elements of participants' perspectives, i.e., their beliefs, views and interests.

As the planning project proceeded, I grew distinctly uneasy that, although I understood better the standpoints of the developers, administrators and teachers in this situation, my observations did not illuminate how or why these standpoints were constructed and sustained. A conceptual framework which does not go beyond the notion of multiple perspectives is not able to make a contribution to the comprehension of forms of control within the social context. It became apparent that I should move through the surface layers of meaning, and attempt to uncover those deeper layers which are concealed by our taken-for-granted acceptance of the everyday world. And thus the report of the study became an effort to bring to light some of the underlying assumptions

in the prevailing practice of planning for implementation. This involved a progressive questioning of the obvious, and persistent reminders that I did not understand.

As in the studies reported by Sharp and Green (1974) and Popkewitz et al. (1982), it was not until after the data collection that constructive categories for analysis emerged, categories that might facilitate a "going beyond" the multiple perspectives. By this I mean projecting out beyond the limits of that conceptual framework, reaching for the opportunity to contemplate positive change. There is the hope that in disclosing the implicit characteristics of the interactions constituting a discourse of planning, participants in this and other situations will be more open to the possibility of improving future discourse. I remain very much aware that the analytic categories which I have employed are interpretive tools shaped by the biases contained within a particular way of viewing the world. It has been my intent to provide sufficient description of the events and interactions that they may be reinterpreted from alternative standpoints.

At this stage of the study, that of writing a report, I have concerns for its use. The report provides a description of individuals whose anonymity cannot be guaranteed. Such information may be used by persons wishing to manipulate changes in planning strategies, or by those hoping to oppose such changes. There may be individuals who would use this information to prove their ideas as right when others' are wrong. This would be regrettable, since the study does not have a conclusion providing for the settlement of issues in dispute. Because this study raises questions about the social practices endorsed by an instrumental approach to planning for implementation, it may be labelled (by some) as having political overtones. All studies in educational

research are potentially political, in that the data gathered may be used to support or oppose particular conceptual outlooks. However, studies which focus on a single feature of the educational process, such as implementation, generally accept the goals and purposes of the developers or planners. The reports of these investigations may then be presented as descriptive and neutral inquiry, whereas, in fact, they are supporting the established framework. A questioning of the established framework, and the assumptions which it encompasses, may lead to transformation through deeper understanding.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Giddens (1979) derives his use of the term ideological from the assertion by Marx that ideologies express or justify the interests of dominant classes.

   For Marx, modes of thought are ideological in so far as they do not portray things as they are, and where this representation serves the interests of specific groups. Avoiding making the distinction between ideology as referring to discourse, and ideology as referring to the beliefs of lived experience, Giddens argues that "the chief usefulness of the concept of ideology concerns the critique of domination" (p. 187).

2. Berger and Luckmann (1966 : 89) describe reification as the "apprehension of the products of human activity **as if** they were something else than human products - such as facts of nature, results of cosmic laws, or manifestations of divine will." Thus in the field of education, not only is the objectification of human relations particularly significant, but also the tendency to reject the status of academic disciplines as human products.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

The following is a list of the events attended during this inquiry:

1980

October 1-2	Denver Workshop for new IB schools, sponsored by IBNA.
October 28	First meeting of the Social Studies Committee, together with Central Office administrators, in High School C.
November 3	First meeting of the French Committee, together with Central Office administrators, in Central Office.
November 5	First meeting of the Biology Committee, together with Central Office administrators, in High School A.
November 17-21	First Biology Committee working session, in Bennett School. (This building was in the process of being converted into an Outdoor Education Center, and its sole occupants were a secretary, an assistant, and the Director.)
December 8-12	Second Biology Committee working session, in Bennett School.

1981

January 7	Luncheon meeting for Principals of "feeder" Junior High Schools, organized by the Administrators at High School A. The Principal of High School C was in attendance.
January 28	Television showing of discussion about the IBP in Edmonton: one Central Office consultant and two administrators from High School C in conversation with host of program.

1981

February 9	IBP recruitment session with Grade 9 honors students in "feeder" junior high school and administrator from High School A.
February 17	Biology Committee meeting, after school, in High School A. Review of progress in working sessions, with Central Office Science Consultant.
February 24	Luncheon meeting in Central Office, attended by Central Office, High School and University administrators. Guest speaker was Jack Matthews, Principal of Lester B. Pearson College.
February 24	Public meeting at the University of Alberta, addressed by Jack Matthews.
March 2-6	Third Biology Committee working session in Bennett School.
March 4	Public meeting focusing on the IBP, in High School A. Addressed by visiting students from Lester B. Pearson College.
March 12	I.B. staff meeting in lunch hour at High School A.
March 24	Chemistry Committee meeting, after school in High School A. Review of progress in contract work with Central Office Science Consultant.
July 22	Luncheon meeting at the University of Alberta. Three trustees and three Associate Superintendents informally review the planning for implementation of the IBP in September.
September 21	Biology committee meeting after school in High School A. Review of IBP status in each school, with Central Office Science Consultant.

APPENDIX B

The following people graciously agreed to an interview for this inquiry:

Edmonton Public School Administration

Director, Curriculum Planning
Consultant, Art
Consultant, Science

School Administration

Principal,	High School A
Principal,	High School B
Vice Principal,	High School A
Vice Principal,	High School B

Instructional Staff

Biology,	High School A
	High School B
	High School C
Chemistry,	High School A
Physics,	High School A
Social Studies,	High School A
English,	High School A

Alberta Education

Director of Curriculum

APPENDIX C

THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE COURSE (IBO, 1977:31)

The eight headings of the Theory of Knowledge Course may be considered as forming three parts preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion.

Introduction	1. Logical symbolism
Part One	2. Scientific activity and the formation of scientific concepts: an example
	3. Mathematics and reality
Part Two	4. The constitution of a human science: an example
	5. Historic knowledge
Part Three	6. The nature and basis of moral and political judgement
	7. The nature and basis of aesthetic judgement
Conclusion	8. Opinion, faith, knowledge, truth

APPENDIX D

PROPOSED IBO RESEARCH STUDIES, 1970-1976 (Mayer, 1968 : 230)

(a) Assessment of the extent to which students with varying preparation up to the age of sixteen could follow a curriculum of this sort for two years, and thus equip themselves for work in the specialised faculties of European universities. This could be of interest both to developing countries and to those European or American universities which receive large numbers of students from them.

(b) Assessment of the relevance of concepts, skills and information acquired in the last two years of secondary school to those actually used in university courses. The fact that the ISES research unit could compile, by the end of the experiment, between two and three thousand dossiers of students, who had entered universities in many different countries, would provide an unusual opportunity for this type of research.

(c) Assessment of the extent to which students who, in the last two years of secondary education, had followed a course deliberately designed to ensure a general education and to keep open the options between faculties at the university, could, in fact, meet the real requirements (not the entry "hurdles") of those faculties. This would be of particular interest in England, where it is often assumed that this would be impossible.

(d) Enquiry into the validity, reliability and "backwash" effects of different types of examinations - e.g. oral examining (as opposed to "interview"), objective testing, submission of "project" work, assessment of course work.

(e) Curriculum development. The design of the International Baccalaureate would be associated with a comparative study of the content of education in the terminal classes of European and American secondary schools. The existing proposals have some claim to embody the best of national systems and also to have made some valuable innovations. To give them a trial would in itself be a useful contribution to currciculum development.

APPENDIX E

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS RELATING TO THE PLANNING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE PROGRAM IN EDMONTON

1979

December 7	Submission to the Board of Trustees from the Superintendent, recommending "that the Edmonton Public School Board plan to enter into the International Baccalaureate Program in September, 1981; and, to this end, the location for the program be established by March, 1980.
December 11	Meeting of Trustees; the motion approving the above recommendation was unanimously carried.

1980

February	Process plan and objectives for implementation of the International Baccalaureate drawn up by Director, Program Development.
March 12	High School A submitted proposal to Director, Program Development, recommending incorporation of the IBP into the curriculum of that school.
March 25	Meeting of Trustees; A.D.C. Peterson, Chairman of the Board of Directors, United World Colleges, and "founder" of the International Baccalaureate Program, was introduced to the Trustees. Mr. Peterson "thanked Alberta for its hospitality and indicated that this was one of the most supportive areas of the International Baccalaureate Program anywhere in the world."
April	High Schools C and D submitted proposals to Director, Program Development, recommending incorporation of the IBP into the curriculum of those schools.
May 1	High School B submitted proposal to the Director, Program Development, recommending incorporation of the IBP into the curriculum of that school.

1980

May 20

Meeting of Trustees; the following motion was carried by a vote of six in favour and two against it:

"That, subject to the following conditions, High Schools [A, B and C] apply for permission to adopt the International Baccalaureate Program commencing in September, 1981.

1. Schools offer the program if they have at least eighteen registrations for the full diploma program by the second Friday in June.

2. A curriculum development budget of $60,000 be allocated for the 1980-81 operational year.

3. An establishment grant fund of $50,000 be provided to be divided among the schools to a maximum of $25,000 to any one school.

4. Resources be provided to cover the operating cost of the program calculated using additive student weighting factors for certificated staff of

   0.045 per student per International Baccalaureate subject and,

   0.160 per full diploma candidate.

   For the phasing-in period, these additive funds are to be scaled by the following factors:

   2.15 for 1981-82
   1.65 for 1982-83
   1.30 for 1983-84

5. An additional allocation to be given to each participating school to pay the fees required by the International Baccalaureate organization."

June 9

Edmonton Public Schools Staff Bulletin. Teachers interested in program review for implementation of the International Baccalaureate invited to contact Central Office.

September 26

IB Co-ordinators of participating schools meet with Central Office administrators to discuss planning for implementation of the IBP.

1980

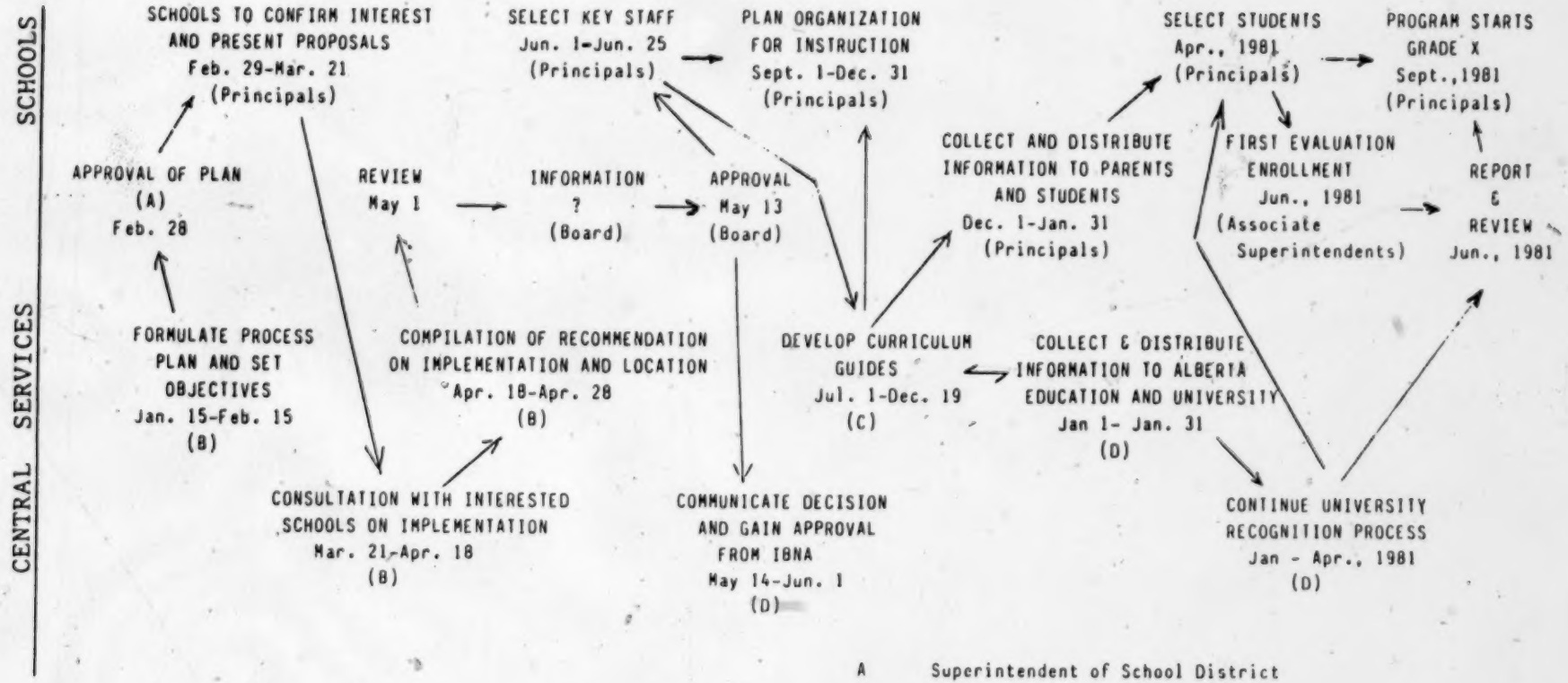
October 1-2	Denver Workshop for newly affiliated IB schools, sponsored by IBNA.
November	High School A announces that it will offer the IBP in September 1981 (Community Newsletter)

1981

January 7	Administrators in High School A hold luncheon meeting for Junior High School Principals to acquaint them with the IBP.
January 28	TV Program on IB "alternative" for Edmonton Schools.
February 24	Mr. Jack Matthews, Director of Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific, visits school district.
February	High Schools A, B and C release brochures describing the IBP.
February	Administrators from High Schools A, B and C recruit students for IBP in Grade 9 classes of "feeder" junior high schools.
March 4	Public meeting on the IBP at High School A.
May 19-23	Two Biology teachers and Social Studies supervisor visit three public IB schools in Michigan and Wisconsin on fact-finding mission.

APPENDIX F

SUMMARY PLAN FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE


SCHOOLS
CENTRAL SERVICES
SCHOOLS TO CONFIRM INTEREST AND PRESENT PROPOSALS Feb. 29-Mar. 21 (Principals)
SELECT KEY STAFF Jun. 1-Jun. 25 (Principals)
PLAN ORGANIZATION FOR INSTRUCTION Sept. 1-Dec. 31 (Principals)
SELECT STUDENTS Apr., 1981 (Principals)
PROGRAM STARTS GRADE X Sept.,1981 (Principals)
APPROVAL OF PLAN (A) Feb. 28
REVIEW May 1
INFORMATION ? (Board)
APPROVAL May 13 (Board)
COLLECT AND DISTRIBUTE INFORMATION TO PARENTS AND STUDENTS Dec. 1-Jan. 31 (Principals)
FIRST EVALUATION ENROLLMENT Jun., 1981 (Associate Superintendents)
REPORT & REVIEW Jun., 1981
FORMULATE PROCESS PLAN AND SET OBJECTIVES Jan. 15-Feb. 15 (B)
COMPILATION OF RECOMMENDATION ON IMPLEMENTATION AND LOCATION Apr. 18-Apr. 28 (B)
DEVELOP CURRICULUM GUIDES Jul. 1-Dec. 19 (C)
COLLECT & DISTRIBUTE INFORMATION TO ALBERTA EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITY Jan 1- Jan. 31 (D)
CONSULTATION WITH INTERESTED SCHOOLS ON IMPLEMENTATION Mar. 21-Apr. 18 (B)
COMMUNICATE DECISION AND GAIN APPROVAL FROM IBNA May 14-Jun. 1 (D)
CONTINUE UNIVERSITY RECOGNITION PROCESS Jan - Apr., 1981 (D)

A Superintendent of School District
B Director, Program Development
C Director, Curriculum Development
D Consultant